DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 055 678	RC 003 557
TITLE	Indian Education. Part 2, Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Ninetieth Congress, First and Second Sessions on the Study of the Education of Indian Children.
INSTITUTION	Congress of the U.S., Washington, D.C. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.
PUB DATE	69
NOTE	297p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS	Achievement; *American Indians; Attitudes; Curriculum; *Education; *Federal Government; *Information Seeking; *Investigations; Racial Factors; Schools; Teachers
IDENTIFIERS	Cherokees

ABSTRACT

Hearings of the U.S. Senate's Special Subcommittee on Indian Education--held at Twin Oaks, Okla., on Feb. 19, 1968--are recorded in this document, which is Part 2 of the hearings proceedings (Part 1 is RC 003 556; Part 3 is RC 003 558). Part 2 contains Indian testimony (mainly Cherokee) about changes and improvements that must be made if Indian children are to receive equal and effective education. Also included are articles, publications, and communications relating to Oklahoma's Indians, as well as learning materials (in Cherokee and English) related to health education. (EL)

ED0 55678

INDIAN EDUCATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INDIAN EDUCATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETIETH CONGRESS
FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS
ON
THE STUDY OF THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN

PART 2

FEBRUARY 19, 1968
~~TWIN OAKS, CALIF.~~
TWIN OAKS, OKLA.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Printed for the use of the
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

89-101

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1969

RC003 557

ED0 22918

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

LISTER HILL, Alabama, *Chairman*

WAYNE MORSE, Oregon	JACOB K. JAVITS, New York
RALPH YARBOROUGH, Texas	WINSTON L. PROUTY, Vermont
JOSEPH S. CLARK, Pennsylvania	PETER H. DOMINICK, Colorado
JENNINGS RANDOLPH, West Virginia	GEORGE MURPHY, California
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, Jr., New Jersey	PAUL J. FANNIN, Arizona
CLAIBORNE PELL, Rhode Island	ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, Michigan
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, Massachusetts	
GAYLORD NELSON, Wisconsin	
ROBERT F. KENNEDY, New York	

STEWART E. McCLURE, *Chief Clerk*
JOHN S. FORSYTHE, *General Counsel*
EUGENE MITTELMAN, *Minority Counsel*

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

ROBERT F. KENNEDY, New York, *Chairman*

WAYNE MORSE, Oregon	PAUL J. FANNIN, Arizona
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, Jr., New Jersey	PETER H. DOMINICK, Colorado
RALPH YARBOROUGH, Texas	

ADRIAN L. PARMETER, *Professional Staff Member*
JOHN L. GRAY, *Professional Staff Member*

RC 00322

CONTENTS

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WITNESSES

FEBRUARY 19, 1968

Page
Kennedy, Hon. Robert F., a U.S. Senator from the State of New York, and chairman of the Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 537
Fannin, Hon. Paul J., a U.S. Senator from the State of Arizona 539
Gourd, Louis R., Cherokee Indian, Tahlequah, Okla 541
Ballenger, Mrs. Mildred, member, chief's executive committee, Tahlequah, Okla., accompanied by Virgil Harrington, director, Muskogee, Okla., area office, Bureau of Indian Affairs; and W. E. Dade McIntosh, principal chief, Creek Indian Tribe 547
Dreadfulwater, Andrew, and Hiner Doublehead, journeyman machinist and welder and professional interpreter, Stilwell, Okla., accompanied by Mrs. Andrew Dreadfulwater and son, Albert Dreadfulwater 565
Procter, Mrs. Lucille, accompanied by her son, Wesley Procter, interpreter 574
Manus, Jerry, representative, Cherokee Nation; Jackson McLain, Cherokee representative, Bull Hollow, Okla.; and Jerry Standingwater, Cherokee representative, Salina, Okla.; comprising a panel 580
Hayden, Mrs. Iola, executive director, Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity 585
Keen, Ralph, general business manager, Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma 603
James, Overton, field representative, Indian Division of the Oklahoma State Department of Education 633

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Statements:

Ballenger, Mrs. Mildred, member, chief's executive committee, Tahlequah, Okla., accompanied by Virgil Harrington, director, Muskogee, Okla., area office, Bureau of Indian Affairs; and W. E. Dade McIntosh, principal chief, Creek Indian Tribe 547
Dreadfulwater, Andrew, and Hiner Doublehead, journeyman machinist and welder, and professional interpreter, Stilwell, Okla., accompanied by Mrs. Andrew Dreadfulwater and son, Albert Dreadfulwater 565
Fannin, Hon. Paul J., a U.S. Senator from the State of Arizona 539
Gourd, Louis R., Cherokee Indian, Tahlequah, Okla 541
Prepared statement 546
Hardin, Lonnie, Assistant Area Director (Education) Muskogee area office, BIA 638
Hayden, Mrs. Iola, executive director, Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity 585
Keen, Ralph, general business manager, Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma 603
James, Overton, field representative, Indian Division of the Oklahoma State Department of Education 633
Kennedy, Hon. Robert F., a U.S. Senator from the State of New York and chairman of the Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 537
Manus, Jerry, representative, Cherokee Nation; Jackson McLain, Cherokee representative, Bull Hollow, Okla.; and Jerry Standingwater, Cherokee representative, Salina, Okla.; comprising a panel 580
Procter, Mrs. Lucille, accompanied by her son, Wesley Proctor, interpreter 574

Articles, publications etc.:

"An Experiment in Cross-Cultural Education, 1962-67, Report of the University of Chicago," by Sol Tax, project director, and Robert K. Thomas, field director, June 1968 940

Articles, publications, etc.—Continued

Page

"An Investigation of Educational Opportunity for the Indian in Northeastern Oklahoma," by Ross Underwood 842
"Cherokee Families and the Schools," by Robert V. Dumont, Jr., University of Kansas 877
"Cherokee Primer" by Willard Walker, Carnegie Corp. cross-cultural education project, University of Chicago 687
"Cherokee Stories," by Rev. Watt Spade and Willard Walker, Carnegie Corp. cross-cultural education project, University of Chicago 761
Excerpt from minutes of Executive Committee of the Cherokee Nation, February 24, 1968 968
"Indian Communities of Eastern Okalhoma and the War on Poverty," by Albert L. Wahrhaftig, Carnegie Corp. cross-cultural education project, University of Chicago 851
"Indian Population Residing in Blaine County, Okla., A Study of the, prepared by Oklahoma Employment Security Commission 848
"Indians, Hillbillies, and the 'education,'" by Robert K. Thomas and Albert L. Wahrhaftig, Carnegie Corp. cross-cultural education project
"My Opportunities of Observation," by Mrs. Mildred P. Ballenger, 1968 555
Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, 1967 annual report 591
"PHS Indian Hospital" book in both Cherokee and English 643
"Problems of Oklahoma Youth from Traditional Indian Homes," by Harold Cameron, Human Relations Center, University of Oklahoma 846
"Redskins and Rednecks: The Myth of Cherokee Assimilation," by Albert Wahrhaftig and Robert K. Thomas, Carnegie cross-cultural education project 893
"Social and Economic Characteristics of the Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma: Report of a Survey of Four Cherokee Settlements in the Cherokee Nation," by Albert L. Wahrhaftig, Carnegie cross-cultural education project, University of Chicago 907
"The Cherokee People Today," by Albert L. Wahrhaftig, Carnegie Corp. cross-cultural education project 795
"The Cherokee School Society and the Intercultural Classroom," by Robert V. Dumont, National Indian Youth Council, and Murray L. Wax, University of Kansas 884
"The Tribal Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma: Report of a Demographic Survey of Cherokee Settlements in the Cherokee Nation," by Albert L. Wahrhaftig, Carnegie cross-cultural project, University of Chicago 897
"Toward a Fundamental Program for the Training, Employment, and Economic Equality of the American Indian," by Herbert E. Striver, director of program development, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research 608

Communications to, from:

Cook, J. R., assistant director, Upward Bound project, Southwestern State College, Weatherford, Okla., to Senator Robert F. Kennedy 985
Ballenger, Mrs. Mildred P., to Subcommittee on Indian Education, March 11, 1968, with attachments 958
Dreadfulwater, Andrew, chairman, Original Cherokee Community Organization to Subcommittee on Indian Education 960
Guthrie, Bennett M., re the immunization profile of all infants and preschoolers born at PHS Indian Hospital, Tahlequah, Okla., July 1, 1960, and May 30, 1966 844
Hagerstrand, M. A., executive vice president, Cherokee National Historical Society, to Senator Robert F. Kennedy, February 27, 1968 966
Harrington, Virgil N. area director, Muskogee area office, BIA, to Senator Robert F. Kennedy, March 1, 1968, with attachment 961
Harris, Dean V., Ph. D., licensed clinical psychologist, Muskogee, Okla., to Senator Robert F. Kennedy, February 23, 1968 986
Keeler, W. W., principal chief, Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Oklahoma, to Senator Robert F. Kennedy, March 4, 1968 971
Saeger, Arimen L., Jr., ACWS, Tahlequah, Okla., to Senator Robert F. Kennedy, February 19, 1968 562
Sam, Archie, Oklahoma City, Okla., to Senator Robert F. Kennedy, February 27, 1968 965

INDIAN EDUCATION

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1968

U.S. SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Twin Oaks, Okla.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9 a.m., at the Oaks Mission Schools, Twin Oaks, Okla.

Present: Senators Kennedy of New York, chairman of the subcommittee (presiding), and Fannin.

Committee staff present: Adrian Parmeter and John Gray, professional staff members of the subcommittee.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Ladies and gentlemen, we are about to begin our hearing. This is the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, and we welcome all of you. We are delighted to be here and delighted to see all of you.

In December of last year, the work of this subcommittee began with 2 days of public hearings in the city of Washington, D.C. This was followed by our initial field trip and field hearings in Idaho and California. Our hearings today in Oklahoma initiate a series of field trips which will take us to Arizona, South Dakota, Oregon, Maine, Florida, and Alaska.

More importantly, we have chosen a course of learning the obvious, as it has been ignored. We are going to listen to Indian people speaking for themselves about the problems that they confront, and about the changes and improvements that must be made if their children are to receive an equal and effective education. This approach demands a strenuous and extensive schedule of field work, to which I, Senator Fannin, and all members of this subcommittee are deeply committed. Why, you might ask, this commitment and this concern.

First, the American Indian, despite folklore, is not a "vanishing American." There are now almost 600,000 Indians in the United States, and it is the fastest growing ethnic group. Again, despite misconceptions, substantial numbers of Indians can be found in every State of the Union—my own State of New York has the seventh largest Indian population in the country. Moreover, despite folklore to the contrary, the American Indian, despite tremendous, almost overwhelming pressures from the white majority, has retained much of his cultural identity. The Cherokees are an excellent example of that. The Cherokee people on their own initiative developed one of the finest governmental structures and a superb educational system, only to have them abolished by the U.S. Government. The Cherokees have suffered historically every indignity, humiliation, and injustice known to man. It is one of the blackest marks in the pages of American history. Despite all of these acts of cultural interference and destruction, a recent study informs us that scattered across seven counties in Eastern Oklahoma there are probably 10,000 to 14,000 Cherokees still participating socially and psychologically in a Cherokee Indian way of life. The Cherokee language is still a viable and primary means of communication for these people. The Cherokees are not unique in this. We have found that there are nearly 300 separate Indian languages and dialects still spoken in the United States and many estimates suggest that considerably more than half of the Indian school-age population retain the use of the Indian tongue. This is something we should be proud of. Cultural differences are not a national burden. They are a national resource. The American vision of itself is of a Nation of citizens determining their own destiny; of cultural differences flourishing in an atmosphere of mutual respect; of diverse peoples shaping their own lives and their own destiny in their own fashion. That is what we understand as the United States of America.

Second, there has been in the past, and there still is today, a substantial Federal, as well as State, responsibility for the educaiton of Indian children. Under the Johnson-O'Malley Act, the Federal Government has a partial responsibility for two-thirds of the Indian children enrolled in public schools.

In addition, we have committed ourselves to helping Indian education in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and have included Indian children under the impacted aid formulas of Public Laws 815 and 874. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has an extensive and farflung educational system of over 250 schools and dormitories, of which five can be found here in eastern Oklahoma, and more in other parts of the State.

To a substantial extent, then, the quality of education provided Indian children is a Federal as well as a State responsibility.

Third, the question then arises, how well have we met our obligations. The few statistics we have available are the most eloquent evidence of our own failure:

Dropout rates are twice the national average;

The level of formal education is half the national average;

Achievement levels are far below those of their white counterparts; and

The Indian child falls progressively farther behind the longer he stays in school.

Even worse, these children are taught by many who are indifferent about the fate of these children; and this indifference finds its way into the hearts of the children themselves. As the Colemen report on equal educational opportunity revealed in 1966:

> Only 1 percent of Indian children in elementary school have Indian teachers or principals;
>
> One-fourth of elementary and secondary school teachers—by their own admission—would prefer not to teach Indian children;
>
> Indian children, more than any other group, believe themselves to be "below average" in intelligence.

Indian children in the 12th grade have the poorest self-concept of all minority groups tested. These children often abandon their own pride and their own purpose and leave school to confront a a society in which they have been offered neither a place nor a hope. And the consequence of this inadequate education is a life of despair and a life of hopelessness.

What is the result of our educational failure?

The average Indian income is $1,500 a year—75 percent below the national average.

His unemployment rate is 10 times the national average.

He lives 10 years less than the average American.

The death rate for his children is twice as high as the national average.

Tuberculosis rates are seven times higher than the average American's.

These facts are the cold statistics which illuminate a national tragedy and a national disgrace. They demonstrate that the "first American" is in fact the last American in terms of employment, in terms of education, in terms of a decent income, and the chance for a full and rewarding life.

This subcommittee does not expect to unveil any quick and easy answers to this dilemma. But, clearly, effective education lies at the heart of any lasting solution. And it must be an education that no longer presumes that cultural difference means cultural inferiority.

We are delighted to be in Oklahoma to ask the assistance of the Indian people in seeking solutions to this problem, and I am sure that the people join us in our interest and concern. We have made a commitment to find a solution to this problem and find that we are making some progress in this difficult field. We can do no less. We must do as much, but we can do no less. We have at least that basic responsibility to those who are the first citizens of this country and who are rightfully proud of their heritage as Indians, rightfully proud of the fact that they are Indians and that their culture is Indian.

We are pleased to be here. We hope that the work of this subcommittee will make some small contribution, at least, to improving the lives of our Indian citizens here in this State and in my own State of New York and Arizona, and all across the country, and we know that you will join us in making this effort. Thank you very much.

Senator Fannin.

STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL J. FANNIN, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ARIZONA

Senator **Fannin**. Senator Kennedy, and to all of you that are vitally interested in this Indian education program, I feel highly honored to have this opportunity to be here with the chairman of the subcommittee to talk with the many of you regarding this problem that we feel deserves great attention.

In my State of Arizona we have more Indians than in any other State in the United States, so Senator Kennedy, I would say we are No. 1, Oklahoma is No. 2, with New York No. 7, did you say?

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I shouldn't have brought it up.

Senator **Fannin**. It is only natural and proper that a Senate subcommittee investigating Indian education should come to the State of Oklahoma. Indeed, it would be improper not to come, for Oklahoma has a large Indian population, a greater diversity of Indian tribes represented within its boundaries than any other State. It is a particular pleasure to come to a State when one of its distinguished Senators, my colleague Senator Harris, Fred Harris—who has played such an important role in working to provide better opportunity for Indian people—is married to a woman of great warmth and beauty who is a Comanche Indian from western Oklahoma, LaDonna Harris.

In the limited time available for our work in Oklahoma, we have had to make a hard choice of what area to concentrate on. We sincerely wish that more time was available to travel to other parts of the State and listen to Indian spokesmen of other tribes. Nevertheless, our decision to concentrate on the eastern part of Oklahoma, and particularly the Cherokee Tribe, was a conscious and deliberate choice. Two reasons come forward to justify our choice of site and concern.

First, unique in the history of our country are the accomplishments of the Cherokee Tribe on their own initative and in their own way. Despite the misery and human suffering of the removal of the Cherokees from their homeland, the "trail of tears" and the eventual relocation of Cherokee people into eastern Oklahoma, the Cherokees with great tenacity, undaunted pride, and resilience, proceeded to establish their own national school system. We are proud of the Cherokee for that accomplishment. From the date of its establishment in 1841 until the very last years of the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokee National Government ran the school system with complete autonomy. Indeed, no Cherokee school was ever supervised or even visited by agents of the U.S. Government until after June 30, 1898. The school system was an extraordinary success, reputed, in fact, to be the finest school system west of the Mississippi River.

There are important lessons in this for all of us that have far too often been forgotten:

> The power of Indian cultures to express themselves and achieve greatness in their own way, given the opportunity;
>
> The tremendous resilience and pride of Indian people in their own cultural traditions, and their ability to withstand almost overwhelming hardship and injustices to once again express their own identity and values;
>
> Perhaps most important in its implications for today is the absolute necessity for meaningful participation and self-determination by Indian people in all programs designed to be of benefit for them. Programs are far too often superimposed from the top, and not generated from the true wishes of the people.

All of us must make far greater effort to understand these lessons. We have failed too often, in the past, and in fact, our present record is rather grim.

Recently several thorough and penetrating studies of the education of Cherokee children have been undertaken, and their findings are both discouraging and revealing:

> The majority of Cherokees receive very little education. The median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee population as a whole is only 5.5.
>
> The Cherokees 40 years and older, the age group providing leadership in a Cherokee settlement, have completed a median of

4 years of school. Cherokees under 40 are relatively better educated.

The educational level of the population has increased almost imperceptibly since 1933. The increase has been from 3.3 school years completed to 5.5, an increase of 2.2 school years completed in the last 30 years.

Forty percent of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate in English.

During the last 30 years, the decrease in functional illiteracy has been small, from 59 percent in 1933 to 40 percent in 1963.

The percentage of Cherokees who have at least an eighth grade education is only 39 percent, and this percentage has grown very slowly since 1933 when 22 percent had finished at least eighth grade.

The level of education obtained by Cherokees is not only well below the average for the State of Oklahoma, but is also below average for rural and non-white populations in the State. Insofar as can be determined from the 1960 United States Census, Cherokees are the least educated group of people in the State, with the possible exceptions of Choctaw Indians and the small populations of Negroes along the Oklahoma-Texas border.

The Cherokees now have an educational level which is lower by nearly 1 school year than the Negro population of the State 10 years ago, and lower by 2.2 school years than the Negro population of the State now. As a community of people Cherokees are at a considerable disadvantage.

The low educational level of Cherokees is not a uniquely "Indian" phenomenon. Insofar as it is possible to estimate, others of the Five Civilized Tribes—Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole—have roughly the same educational level as do Cherokees.

The contrast between what the Cherokees were able to accomplish with their own educational system in the 1900's with their present state of affairs cries out for analysis and understanding—where have we failed and what can be done about it? The answer must lie with the Indian people themselves, and we have come to listen and learn.

I am so pleased to see so many Indian people here today, the youth, the leaders of today, and the youngsters who will be the leaders of tomorrow.

This is really a pleasure, Senator Kennedy, to have a chance to be with these people, and now I know that you want to hear from them.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. We have a number of witnesses, and our first this afternoon is Mr. Louis Gourd, who will please come forward. Just have a seat there Mr. Gourd. Would you identify yourself, Mr. Gourd?

STATEMENT OF LOUIS R. GOURD, CHEROKEE INDIAN, TAHLEQUAH, OKLA.

Mr. **Gourd**. I am Louis Gourd. I live in Tahlequah. I am a Cherokee Indian, and my age is 73. I have always lived in Oklahoma.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Would you proceed. Would you give us the benefit of your ideas about the problems we are facing? You have lived in Oklahoma all your life, I understand.

Mr. GOURD. Yes, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. And you have worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

Mr. GOURD. I have.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. For 15 years?

Mr. GOURD. Yes.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. And you have received a high school education; is that correct?

Mr. GOURD. Yes, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you tell us about the Cherokee Tribe and what you feel are the problems they are facing at the moment?

Mr. GOURD. Beginning with about just a few ideas, along about 1540, Hernandes De Soto came along; had understood that there was gold discovered in our country. He didn't pay a lot of attention to Indians. He saw them. And he proceeded to find out how much gold there was. Along about 1567, Juan Pardo made his way, probably crossing some of the paths that De Soto crossed; and he took more notes and paid more attention to the Indians as to what they were doing at that time. And as time went on, their findings came to light, and they were sort of up and going kind of people. They were interested in things and they had a way of living.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. May I interrupt you a minute? Do you have a written statement?

Mr. GOURD. Yes, sir. I am getting up to that.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I see.

Mr. GOURD. Then he also found that we had a form of government. We had our own judges. We had our own diplomats. England was bartering with us for different things, and we had our own civil government and a democratic form of government. And along about 1820 we had a system of educating our people. In other words, we had a paper, the Cherokee Advocate, or the Cherokee Phoenix as they called it at different times. And so as strife increased over gold and land and things of that kind, we moved.

Then finally it was decided by the authorities that we should come to another country after we had demonstrated that we could operate and maintain schools in the country where we had originally lived.

All right. We got on the trail. We proceeded to find a new country, and when we got here, the same things came with us.

Incidentally, in Georgia we had a way of printing the paper that I just mentioned, and we had a press, and the State of Georgia about 4 or 5 years ago appropriated a considerable amount of money to find out where that press went; and they thought they had it located, and money was not going to deter them from finding out, if they could, where the press was.

All right. Coming on to Oklahoma, then, we preceeded, through old frustrations that we experienced, to try to set up a way of living again in a new country. We did. We established schools. We established our courts of law, and all civil activities including the setting up of schools and learning, and we had a religion which we brought with us.

Now at first we would naturally think that we did it once, we did it, and we went down, and we came here and we did it again and lost it. Some of the complications of our Indian thinking is peculiar to most people. We entered into a good many ways of thinking, because we think that this isn't our country. We didn't come from somewhere else. We were here, and going to lose all these things we once had. It's a peculiar way of arriving at certain conclusions. I believe that's the extent of my statement.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you, Mr. Gourd. Could you tell us a little bit about the educational system that was established?

Mr. Gourd. The last 75 years?

Senator Kennedy. Yes.

Mr. Gourd. Well, that much is in Oklahoma. What we did mostly in Oklahoma the last 75 years, the authorities of our Government saw fit to establish schools, a female seminary, it was called, and I think it amounted to high school, and a male seminary. And the maintenance of these schools was not questioned. We had a way of financing these schools and supplying our teachers. And, incidentally, I might say, out of these schools there is still influence in the legislative Oklahoma of some of the things that our schools taught back there.

And now we find ourselves in a place where we don't understand how these things happened. Our voice is very weak. We are in the wilderness and we are seeking a way of expression, at least a small part. We are not hunting power that we often refer to as "black power." We don't care anything about that. We want the status of at least an average American. That's where you find a lot of things that goes on in America. It is by the average American.

Senator Fannin. Mr. Gourd, did your field services with the Bureau of Indian Affairs include educational activities?

Mr. Gourd. Yes.

Senator Fannin. And you did participate then in the establishment of additional facilities in Oklahoma?

Mr. Gourd. Yes, sir.

Senator Fannin. Were you satisfied with the program of the BIA?

Mr. Gourd. No.

Senator Fannin. Do you have any recommendations in that regard? Or maybe you would want to cover some of your other activities first. But before you finish, I would like to have your thoughts.

Mr. Gourd. There's no doubt—this is a great school here that we are attending, Oaks Mission, but yet at the same time perhaps there is a way that the authorities here could make vast improvements. I don't know. It could be a teacher problem. It could be superintendent-teacher relationship. It could be teacher-student relationship. It could be improper counseling of our students who attend these schools because of the nature of their ability to learn bilingual and the cultural clashes and language barrier and things of that kind. Now, I would say in large part the Indian schools seem to be complacent, that is, the teaching end of it. They are not active in producing an outstanding child, student. The reason for that is, Willy Hollis College produced Will Rogers. Northeastern State College produced other outstanding Indians that were known from coast to coast, but our Indian schools with all the appropriations and with all of their facilities and all of their good looking buildings haven't been able to quite satisfy those standing by looking.

Senator **Fannin**. Do you think that the first or second grade should have bilingual teachers, teachers who can speak the Indian language as well as the English language?

Mr. **Gourd**. I don't feel quite qualified to say about that, but, at any rate, one or the other is going to have to understand, whether it be Cherokee or whether it be English.

Senator **Fannin**. I agree. That's why I asked if you did not think it would be better if we could have bilingual teachers who could communicate with the students when they first come to school, if they are from families who speak the native tongue at home.

Mr. **Gourd**. I think in a lot of cases it would be the key to successful operation and teaching, because it's no secret that if you go places where your language is not taught, you don't think the same. You can't do those things, and fears and all that kind of thing get into your system and it's a barrier, not only from the cultural standpoint but we have—I don't know—it's kind of an ugly word, discrimination that exists, more in some places and less in others, and we just barely go around where we can adapt ourselves, and one of the things about it is that our boys and girls come from colleges and they come to their homes, and the opportunity to express their training is limited. You might say back to us that is our fault. We probably will have to take it.

Senator **Fannin**. Under the BIA system, did you see encouragement for our Indian youngsters to go into the teaching program?

Mr. **Gourd**. Teaching program?

Senator **Fannin**. Yes, in the scholastic work?

Mr. **Gourd**. No. The average Indian school is more of an elementary nature, just the three R's, and some, of course, go to high school, but there is not enough orientation there to give a child much of an incentive to understand what colleges propose to teach and how they can adapt themselves with what they got in the Indian school. They become candidates for dropouts because of lack of facilities in sciences and things of that kind in schools where they finish their high school. They fall short, and we fail to get nurses; we fail to get doctors. We fail to get anything that's of a scientific nature.

Senator **Fannin**. But don't you think this should be encouraged? In other words, in the high school work, don't you think they should encourage our Indian youngsters to go on to their higher education, and go into those professions?

Mr. **Gourd**. I think so. I think we should have improved counseling from the superintendent on down to these students.

Senator **Fannin**. Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you know how many Indian doctors there in the State of Oklahoma or how many Indian lawyers there are? Would you know how many Indian doctors or how many Indian lawyers?

Mr. **Gourd**. I can only think of two or three, maybe more, maybe less. I suppose that there's a good many more, because in a specialized field we don't know the specialists like we do just ordinary practitioners.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. There is only a handful at best in any case; is that right?

Mr. **Gourd**. Yes.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Just a few. Do you think that the educational system for the Indian child is teaching the Indian child?

Mr. Gourd. It is, and the basis of it is our way of thinking and our way of doing. The basic point and the basic story place is the home.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Let me rephrase it. I am talking now about the schools. Do you think the schools are teaching the Indian child, educating the Indian child?

Mr. Gourd. Yes; they are.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Would you explain that? I gather from the way you have talked that you were critical of the educational system and felt that the Indian child was not being adequately and satisfactorily encouraged. Did I misunderstand you?

Mr. Gourd. I think in all things that we attempt to solve or think about, there must be necessarily an element of criticism, or we don't improve.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Right. I gathered that you were critical.

Mr. Gourd. Well, to the degree that I am able to bring out what I am asked to tell about.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Let me say this: Do you think that the educational system for the Indian child, for the Cherokee child, for the children of the other tribes, is improving and is helping the child so that he can meet the problems of this world, the problems of society, and can find a job and go to work and raise a family? Is the educational system providing that kind of service?

Mr. Gourd. Well, if I understand the question—is it confined to the schools that we have as such?

Senator Kennedy of New York. Confined to the schools that exist now and to which these children go.

Mr. Gourd. I think there's—I don't think there are very many high school students who are capable of going out into the field and doing very many things because of the additional requirements in our present-day education, and the things that we have to live with now that we didn't use to have to, but there's quite a few in college, but still——

Senator Kennedy of New York. How many Cherokees, for instance, are there in college? Do you know that?

Mr. Gourd. I really have no way of——

Senator Kennedy of New York. Is there anybody here that would have that figure?

Mr. James. Senator, I will have part of that when I testify.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Do you have that figure?

Mr. James. Yes, sir.

Senator Kennedy of New York. What is that?

Mr. James. Not the exact number of Cherokees. I have the number who are attending higher education in the State of Oklahoma, with assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. That's over 1,000. And I would say——

Senator Kennedy of New York. What is your name, sir?

Mr. James. My name is Overton James.

Senator Kennedy of New York. You brought some of your friends with you, Mr. James. We will get into that a little bit more deeply when you testify. Thank you very much.

Mr. Gourd, you have a prepared statement here. We will make that prepared statement a part of the record, because I think it's very interesting, very helpful and very eloquent about some of the problems that are being faced by the Cherokees. We are very grateful to you, and your statement will be made a part of the record so that everybody will be able to read it. Thank you very much.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Gourd follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LOUIS R. GOURD, CHEROKEE INDIAN, TAHLEQUAH, OKLA.

WHY THE CHEROKEES ARE IN WORSE CONDITION NOW THAN THEY WERE THREE-QUARTERS OF A CENTURY AGO

Seventy-five years ago the Cherokees were in full control of their own affairs. They ran their own government, they had an educational system, entirely of their own making, equal or superior to that of any of the surrounding states. Their two efficient high schools, the Male and Female Seminaries, supported by well over a hundred public schools over the nation, conducted mainly by Cherokee teachers, made up this admirable system of education—all under Cherokee financing and Cherokee control.

They conducted their own business, operated their farms, elected their own officers, had their own courts of law, and in every way, were an efficient, self-governing people. They maintained a high degree of self respect and self esteem. They lived the kind of life to which they were accustomed and with which they were happy and content.

But, in the space of about two decades, they had the rug jerked from under them, so to speak. At Statehood there were five times as many white people in the Indian territory as there were Indians. And that, too, when the Federal Government was under solemn treaty obligations to keep white intruders out. Then, too, against the will of the Indians, the Curtis act was passed, the Dawes Commission created, and the whole plan of contented self government was arbitrarily snatched from them almost over night.

In the presence of outside and overly aggressive races the Cherokees are a timid, backward people. They vigorously opposed outside aggression as long as opposition seemed effective but, when they were hopelessly overwhelmed by a superior force, they instinctively ceased to resist and withdrew from the scene of action a defeated and humiliated people. The fullblood Cherokees in particular, feeling themselves mistreated, withdrew to the more secluded hilly regions where they still hoped to live their own lives in their own way.

In this partial isolation they found the continuance or the restoration of their former way of life impossible. They became poverty stricken and discouraged at the loss of their former independent and happy existence. The fullblood element has thus lost its initiative and zest for living. He does not know what to do nor how to make his way back. Thus, in this benighted condition, he gropes his way as best he can, still feeling the loss of his independence but not knowing how to regain it. Everybody seems against him; even the more well-to-do leaders of his own race. He feels his loss keenly but hasn't the aggressive initiative to regain it against such superior odds.

The mixed blood Cherokees in general have been able to hold their own fairly well in competition with the White aggressor. They have been better able to adapt themselves to the new order than have the fullbloods.

Cherokee values are not the same as those of many of his white brothers. Some people measure every undertaking in life by the dollar mark. The average Cherokee has human values that he places above the dollar mark. If some people fall short of what they consider their rights, their first impulse is to fight for those rights. The Cherokees seem to think that every gentleman ought to concede the ordinary human rights to every other gentleman without his having to fight for them.

During the nineteen twenties and nineteen thirties the Cherokee people possibly reached about their lowest ebb economically. And of course, their destitute economic condition had a depressing influence upon their cultural life. No one can have very elevating thoughts on an empty stomach, or with insufficient clothing to combat the cold, or in a diseased state of physique. During the early years of statehood many unscrupulous lawyers made fortunes off the Cherokee guardianships. Many of the fullbloods lost their land and some of them are still losing it by its being placed on the tax rolls illegally.

In the public schools of today the Cherokee student is frequently infringed against by the teacher. He is at a linguistic disadvantage in that he possibly hears and speaks only Cherokee at home. Then, when he goes to school, he has to think and talk in English. This is confusing and naturally makes his responses slower than the white student of the same mental ability. This hesitation sometimes gives rise to the oft-heard phrase "dumb Indian", when the Indian really is not "dumb" at all.

In many of the Indian communities the school lunch program is provided wholly from the money that comes to the school for this purpose from the Federal Government upon the basis of Indian enrollment. Yet pressure is frequently put on the Indian students to pay for their lunch. This ought not to be. Every student of Indian blood ought to have his lunch free of charge.

As the older Cherokees pass away the younger generation is gradually realizing the necessity of adapting themselves to the changed order. Prospects of improvement are slowly becoming discernible. The Cherokee has ability but the inborn attitudes of life are hard to overcome. They are gradually acquiring the ability to hold their own alongside of their competitors, in the various walks of life, and it is to be hoped that this improvement will continue and will increase in speed. The only way this can be accomplished is by providing a quality education for all Indian children.

STATEMENT OF MRS. MILDRED BALLENGER, MEMBER, CHIEF'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, TAHLEQUAH, OKLA.; ACCOMPANIED BY VIRGIL HARRINGTON, DIRECTOR, MUSKOGEE (OKLA.) AREA OFFICE, BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS; AND W. E. DADE McINTOSH, PRINCIPAL CHIEF, CREEK INDIAN TRIBE

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Mrs. Mildred Ballenger. Mrs. Ballenger, would you have a seat, please.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. Thank you, Senator Kennedy and Senator Fannin. I feel it an honor to participate in this hearing. I have a prepared statement, Senator Kennedy. First, let me identify myself somewhat. I am about one-eighth Cherokee, my roll number being 16293. I am a native of Tahlequah, the capitol of the old Cherokee Nation. I have been a member of the Chief's Executive Committee for about 12 years. You notice I say the chief's committee, not the Cherokee Executive Committee, as the Cherokee people have no voice in the selection of any members of that organization. I was also a Cherokee——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Who selects them?

Mrs. **Ballenger**. The chief.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And who selects the chief?

Mrs. **Ballenger**. The Department of—the President appoints him. That comes on in my talk.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You will get to that?

Mrs. **Ballenger**. Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. All right.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. I was also a Cherokee representative on the Intertribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes for about 10 years. I have served on several committees in both of these organizations. I am not now a member of either of these organizations as I could not agree with many of their policies.

My teaching experience has not been extensive, but has been in predominantly Cherokee communities. Considerable study has been made as to why there is such a high percentage of dropouts among the Cherokee students of today.

I will digress here to point out some of the historical background showing some of the reasons for this condition. The revolution that took place at the end of the last century—by that I mean the change from Territorial government to Oklahoma statehood—has had much to do with the present condition of the Cherokee fullblood. Against his will, he was forced to give up his independent government, his excellent system of free education which he had spent a century in developing, his free economic system, and a complete change in his whole social life. He was completely overwhelmed by the superior number of whites who took over everything. The only way he knew to protect himself and family was to withdraw into the hills of the Counties of Delaware, Adair, Cherokee, and Sequoyah, where he has lived in comparative isolation to the present time. He is utterly confused and puzzled as to how to proceed in the restoration of his freedom and self-respect as an upstanding citizen of Oklahoma.

The language barrier is one obstacle to educational progress. The frustration of a Cherokee boy or girl who speaks and hears only Cherokee in the home—and there are many of these—is not surprising. When he goes to school, he must compete with English-speaking students, and often under an unsympathetic teacher. His hesitation in responses, because of the language barrier, often leads the teacher to regard him as a "dumb Indian." The attitude of the teacher is frequently reflected in the students, and this often leads to his distaste or hatred for school and everything connected with it. Personally, I have heard Cherokee children referred to as "dumb Indians," when in reality they were not dumb at all. I recently heard a teacher remark that she was teaching in a very good school, that "there were very few Indian students in attendance."

Some students eventually realize the futility of the struggle by observing what usually happens to the educated Indian here. In the area of the old Cherokee Nation, there is really little place for the educated fullblood. The potential leaders of our tribe really have but about two choices: that of leaving their own home and community and try for employment in a community or State where the Indian is not discriminated against, or join the white-oriented group by getting a job with the Indian Bureau, or getting a seat on the chief's executive committee. This is about the best he can hope to do in this area.

Discrimination exists not only in schools and in jobs, but sometimes in hospitals also. Police officers are feared by most fullblood Cherokees.

Last year, a 76-year-old Cherokee was bringing home his groceries from the store. He had a stroke and fell not far from his home. Some of the neighbors called the police. To the average police officer, an Indian on the ground is a "drunk Indian." This man was never known to drink. He was taken to jail. His wife went to the jail and tried to see him, but was refused. His son-in-law also tried, but was refused. In about 6 or 7 hours, the officers decided that he was not drunk after all, but sick. They then took him to the Indian Hospital, where he died that night. The widow was asked if she wanted an investigation or to bring charges. She refused for fear of retaliation from the officers. This is not exactly an educational problem, but tends to show the thinking of the Indian with regard to his community surroundings.

The educational system, or the lack of it, is only a part of the overall problem of the people. It all dovetails together in a way that one cannot be isolated from the others.

The Cherokees have had imposed upon them a federally appointed chief. He is appointed by the President of the United States upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior. The Cherokees have nothing to say about it. They must accept whoever is appointed.

In 1948, when Mr. Bartley Milam was chief, an election was called for the purpose of selecting a representative from each of the former nine Cherokee districts to select lawyers to represent the Cherokees in their claims against the U.S. Government. Mr. Milam died shortly after this, and the present chief has perpetuated this committee, calling it the Cherokee Executive Committee. There has never been another election, and this committee is now made up of the chief's appointees.

When the *Outlet* case was won, the Cherokees wanted a per capita payment, as this was the only way they knew, from past experience, of getting any benefit from their money. Without explanation, a payment of $280 was announced for each enrollee. This would leave quite a sum in the residual fund for the ruling regime to spend. Through the efforts of the congressional Representative of our district, the chief and Indian Bureau in Muskogee gained control of this fund. The Cherokee people knew nothing of this bill until months after its passage. The amount of this residual fund, who is on the Cherokee payroll, and how this money is being spent has never been disclosed to the Cherokee people. They only find by chance now and then where some of this money is going.

As to the two projects south of Tahlequah into which Cherokee moneys have been poured, only an infinitesimal number of Cherokees have been employed, in comparison to the 8,000 or 9,000 needy Cherokees in this area. The good paying jobs usually go to non-Indians or mixed-blood Indians. It is a sad commentary when the schools for the benefit of the Cherokee people have not produced even one educated Cherokee capable of managing the so-called Cherokee Cultural Center.

According to the Carnegie Cross cultural report, released by Dr. Robert Thomas, the average 18-year-old Cherokee—this is the average, I must explain, they are not the ones that have left home; this is the average that is still in the community—has completed 5½ years of formal schooling. This Carnegie group was persecuted, vilified, and harassed by the Cherokee power structure from the time they arrived until their study was completed. The same treatment, only to a greater degree, was meted out to Dr. Wax, Dr. Dikeman, and Dr. Robert Dumont when they came to this area in 1964 to determine the educational condition of the Cherokee people. Dr. Wax and his associates were subjected to a most humiliating inquisition in the presence of the Five Civilized Tribes Council, the Federal investigators, and certain University of Kansas personnel.

When efforts like these are quashed by the Cherokee power structure, the real condition of our fullblood Cherokees remains unknown to the outside world. It seems that they want the status quo, or if there is a change, it must be made under their supervision and their limitations. Every investigation is resented. Even your visit here, according to the newspapers, is causing opposition.

17

It is well known that Indian girls make good nurses, but due to insufficient science or lack of counselling in high school, many cannot pass the entrance examinations. Only one that I have known has gone back to school and later been able to pass. The ones who did not pass fell by the wayside or took the nurses aid courses at Albuquerque, which fit them for employment.

One of the bright spots in the educational system of Oklahoma is the Oklahoma State University branch at Okmulgee that trains men for trades and for technical employment. Some Cherokee students have gone to this school and are now holding good jobs.

Some difference of opinion may be expressed as to what is being done in this area, but I have lived here all my life and know something about it.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. That was an excellent statement, thank you.

Mrs. **Ballenger.** Thank you.

Senator **Fannin.** It was a very excellent statement. I am quite interested in what you had to say in regard to the manner in which the funds are handled. Doesn't the Secretary of Interior to the BIA approve any disbursement?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** From what I understand, it is wholly in the hands of the chief and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Muskogee.

Senator **Fannin.** In Muskogee?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** Yes.

Senator **Fannin.** It is your understanding that the Secretary of the Interior would not have to approve it?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** I don't know about that. I am not informed about that.

Senator **Fannin.** I see. I would like to check into that, and do appreciate the information that you have given us.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Could I just ask, in connection with that: Has anybody asked for an accounting of funds?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** Yes, there was one organization which wrote for an accounting, but they got nothing.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What did they say from the Bureau of Indian Affairs about giving an accounting?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** As far as I found out, there was never an answer. I have written——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is there anybody here from the Bureau of Indian Affairs?

Mr. **Harrington.** Yes, sir.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Are all those figures available? What is your name?

Mr. **Harrington.** Virgil Harrington, director of the Muskogee area office. Mrs. Ballenger wrote about 2 weeks ago for the answers to the questions she asked pertaining to the finances of the Cherokee Tribe, how much money they had when they started and what is paid out per capita; how much is left in the residual fund; how much is in the treasury today. She should have that in her hands.

Mrs. **Ballenger.** No, I don't.

Mr. **Harrington.** It was signed in our office last Thursday.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Let me just ask you this. Can any Cherokee Indian find out how that money has been spent, where it's been spent? They can have that information?

Mr. **Harrington**. Yes, sir, that's public information.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. There is no way in which the Cherokee people can become informed as to where their money is going. I have written personally.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I just want to make sure so that you know from now on, Mrs. Ballenger. Maybe we have accomplished something with this committee, that Mrs. Ballenger and any other member of the Cherokee Tribe can have a full accounting of the expenditures of that fund; is that right?

Mr. **Harrington**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Has that information been sent to Mrs. Ballenger?

Mr. **Harrington**. It was sent to her last week. She asked for it about 2½ weeks ago.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you have a copy of the letter which was sent to her?

Mr. **Harrington**. It's in my office in Muskogee, but I don't have it here.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Does anybody have it?

Mr. **Harrington**. Not here.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. I don't have it here. I have a copy of a letter that has a few numbers on it.

Mr. **Harrington**. Those numbers are the exact figures of the fund.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. And I asked also——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Does that give everybody who has received the money, and where the money has been spent?

Mr. **Harrington**. Not everybody who has received the money, sir; only the funds that were left over to be disbursed for programs of the Cherokee Tribe, and the amount that's in the treasury today. That's what Mrs. Ballenger asked for and that's what we sent her.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Does that give an account of any money in that fund which has been spent up to the present day?

Mrs. **Ballenger**. No, sir.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Wait a minute.

Mr. **Harrington**. That's public record and it has been in the papers. It's in the minutes of the Executive Committee of the Cherokee Tribe.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What I would like to have, so that we don't have any misunderstanding, and maybe we can go into it a little further in a moment, or a little later on, but what I want in any case for this committee, is a full accounting of the funds and how they have been spent up to the present time, who administers the fund, and whether any of the funds have been used for educational purposes, which is what we are primarily interested in. But I don't know whether the letter which you sent Mrs. Ballenger would be satisfactory, but I want to have that information at least for this record.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. It is not.

Mr. **Keen**. I am Ralph Keen, the general business manager of the Cherokee Nation. The answer to the questions you are asking lies within my office. Mrs. Ballenger has never asked me for this accounting. We made a proper accounting of all expenditures at the last Executive Committee meeting which was open to everyone.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. The Executive Committee meetings are rarely advertised beforehand. We find out that they have met afterwards.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. All right. In any case, you will furnish all of that?

Mr. **Keen**. Yes. We do have people who spend full time going around to all the committees of the Cherokee Nation to ask them to come to explain these expenses.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. I also asked for the list of the people who were on the Cherokee payroll. I didn't get this. I was referred to Mr. Keen, but I haven't got——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I am sure you will furnish a list of all the people who have been on the payroll. We will have all the information in here, and you will supplement what they give us?

Mr. **Keen**. It will alternate, because we have a construction payroll that fluctuates.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You have the names of the people that have been on the payroll?

Mr. **Keen**. I only have the time—four people that I can give.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. There's hundreds of them on the payroll.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. We will go on now.

Senator **Fannin**. In Mrs. Ballenger's statement, she explained that payment of $280 was announced for each enrollee. I would like to ask Mr. Keen or Mr. Harrington: Is this supposed to be approved by Washington, by the Secretary?

Mr. **Harrington**. It was approved, sir.

Senator **Fannin**. It could not be approved at the local level, but would need to be approved by the Secretary?

Mr. **Harrington**. That was approved by Congress when the distribution bill was passed for the proceeds to be paid out and what was going to happen to them. That's when it was determined that the $280 would be paid out in a per capita payment, which was the closest at that time that could be figured for 41,889 Cherokees be paid the $14 million that was won in the Claims Comission from the Federal Government.

Senator **Fannin**. This was handled by the Secretary of Interior on submitting it to Congress for approval; is that right?

Mr. **Harrington**. Yes, sir.

Mrs. **Ballenger**. Let me make a little explanation here. Mr. Holmes was the area director. Mr. Harrington was not here at that time. Mr. Holmes was the area director at that time. He said we would get $300 or more. When that bill passed, I was down in Oklahoma City attending a meeting of the Intertribal Council, and we all were in the same motel, and he announced that it would be $300 or maybe more. Then there was nothing else heard. No one else heard a thing about it; but then later it was announced that we would get $280.

Senator **Fannin**. Mrs. Ballenger, I just wanted to clarify your statement without explanation as to the way you stated it, so you do understand it now as to what was done?

Mrs. **Ballenger**. Yes.

Senator **Fannin**. Thank you. Mrs. Ballenger, when you were associated with the program, the educational program, did you encourage the girls, for instance, to go into nursing?

Mrs. **Ballenger**. Yes.

Senator **Fannin**. And the men, the boys, to further their education and go into other professional activities?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** Yes. I had a good deal to do with that, in the Tahlequah area, as we were supposed to represent a certain part of the old Cherokee Nation, and my area was Tahlequah, the Tahlequah District, as it was called in the territorial times, but now it consists of about Cherokee County. Well, I had a good deal to do with trying to gain—I had a close relationship, I should say, with the counselors at that time, and we did place quite a number. I had a good relationship with Sister Graciana, who was at St. John's Hospital, who would, if I would contact her, almost always get an Indian girl in for training at that time. You see, I have been off the Committee since 1965.

Senator **Fannin.** Do you feel this program is being continued?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** No. It sort of dropped behind. I think someone would have to take more of a personal interest in it and contact the counselors to find your girls who are available; but I did have a lot of trouble in passing them and having them getting passed because their high school science was very low.

Senator **Fannin.** This is a great need that exists today, then, you will agree?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** Yes.

Senator **Fannin.** Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you feel that the Indians have much to say about their educational system and whether the educational system is satisfactory or adequate?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** No; I don't think they have very much to say about it.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do the Indians themselves have much to say about any of these great programs that affect their lives?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** Well, now, you will have to tell me exactly what you mean by "Indian." Do you mean a mixed blood, do you mean a halfbreed, or do you mean a fullblood? I am referring from—as Indian to those that are a half to a fullblood.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Yes; let's talk about those.

Mrs. **Ballenger.** Yes. The fourth Indian is now being able to get services that he was not able to get before, but it has been——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. When you are talking about the Cherokees in the context that you are using in your descriptive terms of what a Cherokee is, does that individual have much to say about the educational system that affects the lives of his children, or have much to say about the welfare program, or much to say about the other programs that govern his life?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** From what I know, they do not by my information.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Why was the decision made that the Cherokees will not elect their own leader? Why don't Cherokees elect their leader?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** You mean the chief?

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Yes. Why is he appointed rather than elected?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** We have never had an elected chief. That was what came in with statehood.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I understand you never have. Is there any interest in trying to have elected ones?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** Yes. People are interested in trying to have one; yes.

Mr. **McIntosh.** Senator Kennedy.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Yes.

Mr. **McIntosh.** At the time of the enabling——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Could you identify yourself?

Mr. **McIntosh.** I was just going to give the information.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Could you identify yourself?

Mr **McIntosh.** I most certainly could. I am W. E. Dode McIntosh, principal chief of the Creek Indian Tribe. At the time of the enabling act when Oklahoma became a State on November 16, 1907, the tribal governments went out. There were no more elections. The principal officer of the tribes of the Five Civilized Tribes—Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and sometimes Seminole—was to be selected by the President of the United States. That's the law as it now is.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I have asked Mrs. Ballenger a question: Whether there is an interest, whether the Indians would feel that their interests would be better protected if they could elect the chief and elect those officers.

Mrs. **Ballenger.** From the ones that I have contacted, I think there would be, Senator Kennedy.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is there a strong feeling that they would like to take a more active role in the educational system for the children?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** I think that's growing; yes. It is growing, I think.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you feel that there is a dissatisfaction with the educational system?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** I am not as versed in the educational system, as I said, as I am over the whole area of governmental—that's what I have been thrown into by being a member of the executive committee and the Intertribal Council. I know more about that; but I am quite sure they would like that, although I have never had them come right out and say education.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. When you talk about discrimination, could you give us some examples of discrimination?

Mrs. **Ballenger.** I gave some in my talk, but I am sure—I have come across it quite in a subtle way and in an open way among the people. Cherokees are not an aggressive sort of people. They are more timid and backward, and they become hurt very easily with certain discrimination. I have a letter in my possession at the present time that says—it's from a newspaper in the Cherokee area—as far as I can remember what it quoted, "I do not like Cherokees. I do not write about them, only—but it's sometimes necessary for me to." So that feeling exists very much among our people.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much, Mrs. Ballenger. You have been very helpful. I appreciate it.

Mrs. **Ballenger.** Senator Kennedy and Senator Fannin, I have here a document that I would like to be included in this report.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. The material will be printed at this point in the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

MY OPPORTUNITIES OF OBSERVATION

(By Mrs. Mildred P. Ballenger, 1968)

Although my degree of Indian blood is not large my opportunities of contact with the Cherokee people have been rather extensive. My Cherokee family heritage, in this region, goes back three generations. My maternal grandmother came over the "Trail of Tears" in 1839. While she was only a small girl at that time she has told me many stories of the hardships of the removal. From her experiences I learned in childhood to help her hate Andrew Jackson and the spiteful Federal officers that conducted the removal.

My father's father was a captain in Stand Watie's army during the Civil War. My father, born in 1862, lived through the major part of Indian Territorial days and almost a half century of Oklahoma statehood. He was a well educated man, a teacher, a lawyer, a politician, and a close observer of his fellow man. He was personally acquainted with a great many of the Cherokee people and frequently invited them to our home.

My mother was of the Duncan family, a mixture of Scotch and Cherokee. A number of my family attended either the Male or the Female Seminary, maintained by the Cherokees. My maternal grandfather operated a grist mill and cotton gin and had business dealings with many Cherokees.

After I grew up I taught school in both Cherokee County and Adair County. The Cave Springs School, in Adair County, has as many or more Indians than any other school in the county. Adair County is thickly populated with Cherokee people. I was a member of Mr. Keeler's Executive Committee for twelve years, was a member of the Intertribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes for six years, served on several prominent committees in both organizations, and, as such, have come in contact with all classes of the Cherokee people. My whole life, of work and play, has been spent mainly among my Indian people. In recent years my husband and I have distributed hundreds of pounds of clothing, bedding, and food supplies to needy Cherokees.

Through this life-long heritage and experience it has been my good fortune to know and to understand the average Cherokee much better than do most non-Indians or even Cherokees of higher official status. The conditions, the needs, the disposition, and the aspirations and ambitions of the Cherokee people are more or less second nature with me. Their successes interest me and their needs appeal to me.

WORK OF THE CHEROKEE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In 1953 Mrs. Ballenger was asked by the Cherokee chief to become a member of his Executive Committee as a representative of what had been the Tahlequah District of the old Cherokee Nation. This area comprised about what is now Cherokee County. The original Executive Committee had been elected while J. B. Milam of Claremore was chief. Mr. W. W. Keeler of Bartlesville succeeded Mr. Milam as chief. At this time the chief seemed to be genuinely trying to learn about the conditions of the people and to work out some solution to remedy these conditions.

The first few years the Executive Committee met quite regularly, usually at the old Cherokee Capitol Building, which is now the Cherokee County Court House. The chief made a number of attempts to contact and familiarize himself with rural Cherokees, either by asking them to the meetings or, later, meeting in their communities. To the invitations to attend the meetings, most of the organizations came or sent representatives, the exception being the Stokes Smith Kee-too-wahs. These groups put their problems and troubles before the Executive Committee but their problems could rarely be solved by this committee as it had only advisory power. As an example, a rancher had bought land on all four sides of a Cherokee's land and would not give the Cherokee a satisfactory outlet or road. This was referred to the state representative of Adair County for him to intercede in the Indian's behalf. But due to delay in furnishing the Indian redress and to continued annoyance by the cattleman, the Indian eventually sold to the rancher and moved.

The Four Mothers Clan wanted a tract of land to live on in common, like the Cherokees did before statehood. The chief and some of the others made quite lengthy speeches telling them that this would be impossible under the existing circumstances. The Four Mothers Clan never came back.

The Committee was asked to meet in other places in the old Cherokee Nation in order that the people in these areas might put their problems before them. At Eucha, five miles west of Jay, Oklahoma, there were about one hundred Indians present. Many could not speak English, so an interpreter was used. They wanted to know if an Indian could fish in the streams running through the Kenwood land without a license. This Kenwood reservation was a tract of land of about 30,000 acres granted in trust to the Cherokees. Its exact legal status has never been made entirely clear. A case is now pending in the Federal court in order to get legal clarification on this point. Some Indians had been arrested and thrown in jail at Vinita for fishing without license. As they could not pay their fines, they had to work them out.

The City of Tulsa had condemned land for Eucha Lake. For the same amount of land and practically the same type of land the non-Indian had received one thousand dollars, while the non-English speaking Indian received only ninety dollars. The non-Indian man was there to testify to the fact. A high-line was being built through the country and both Indian and non-Indian said they were paying the Indian exactly half as much as they were paying the non-Indian. There was nothing done by the Committee, at the time, about the first two complaints, but a protest was made about the high-line and it was supposed to be remedied. With paid lawyers in the Indian Bureau it seems that such infringements upon the Indians' rights should be corrected quite readily, but the Indian does not know what to do and those who are supposed to look after his legal rights are frequently so slow and neglectful that these injustices drag on endlessly.

One fall, either 1956 or 1957, the chief invited the Executive Committee, a number of guests, the tribal lawyers, and two or three Indian men who had been quite critical of the chief and of tribal affairs, to meet at Woolarock near Bartlesville.

The business meeting began in the morning and continued most of the day, with a lovely luncheon for all at the Lodge. With this overwhelming display it seems that the critics were awed into silence. Nothing else was written by them. The chief always worked very close with the Bureau. It was reported that the main dissenter was given a job with the Bureau and was later transferred to a western office. The chief always said: "You can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar."

At this time the chief spent many Sundays and holidays trying to help the Indian and to understand his viewpoint. Having been born in Texas and having lived mainly away from the fullblood people, he was really a stranger to the Cherokees.

After a few years he seemed to become involved in other things and somewhat lost interest. It may have been his inability to solve so many of the problems of the people. He called executive meetings less frequently during this period. His interest revived, however, with the winning of the Outlet case.

During the winter of 1960–1961 notice was sent to all Indian tribes inviting them to an Indian conference to be held at the University of Chicago in June of 1961 with Dr. Sol Tax in charge. The announced purpose of this conference was to be the formulation of some kind of united Indian policy for the consideration of the Department of the Interior.

The chief had been on a trip, with several other oil men, to Russia some time time before this. When he returned the executive committee was given a rather bizarre account of the trip: bugged rooms, things they already knew about the chief, Indians here in the United States being kept in leg-irons, etc. The chief asked where they got their information and was told from the University of Chicago.

When this meeting at Chicago was announced, the chief, tribal lawyers, and others began plans to send representatives to see what went on there. In the executive meeting that spring some of the main discussion was this Chicago meeting. It was decided that two of the tribal lawyers would go, which they did. The resolutions passed by the Chicago conference were rather ineffective, so far as our information goes. The lawyers returned quite jubilant and recounted what they had done blow by blow.

After the winning of the Outlet case, the chief, with several of the Executive Committee, made a swing through the Cherokee country trying to find out the attitude of the people concerning the disposition of the monies won in the lawsuit. The chief is a very convincing speaker, but he received an overwhelming amount of mail in favor of a per capita payment. One reason the average Cherokee wanted a per capital payment was the past history of the tribe. The money in the past had gone to certain individuals and the poor Cherokee had received practically nothing.

After the people had overwhelmingly asked for a per capita payment, the chief gave the Executive Committee to understand that the Cherokees could have a payment and there would still be enough money for the projects he had been interested in, such as the cultural center, housing, education, industrial development, etc.

The Area Director (Mr. Holmes) first announced that the payments would be $300.00 or more. But a little later it was announced they would be $280.00. Written in the bill was, "shares of deceased heirs amounting to $10.00 or less shall not be distributed, and no inherited share amounting to $5.00 or less shall be paid; and the residue shall revert to the tribe." (76 U.S. Statute 976, sec. 2). Also, according to payments to other tribes, it was evident that quite a large sum would be left unclaimed. None of the Executive Committee objected, as they were assured by the chief that the money used on these projects was to go to Cherokees and not to non-Indians.

Everyone knows the value of a surprise move, and none better than the chief, as he is a past master in handling people and situations. At a committee meeting in 1965 that was called to discuss housing there was present at least seventy-five people—visitors, Cherokees, and Bureau officials. Housing was discussed, but quite unexpectedly the chief asked the Executive Committee to allow a hundred thousand dollars from the Cherokee residual fund for the Cherokee cultural project. It seems quite evident now that the chief must have had an understanding as to who he intended to appoint as manager of this project. The writer was the only abstaining vote. If there is any question or objection to what the chief has done, the chief assures the objector that the Executive Committee passed the measure. In this way the responsibility is shifted and the objector is silenced.

Before this payment was awarded to the tribe, the chief and other interested parties had been considering the establishment of a Cherokee cultural center. (This Cherokee cultural project was a plan to establish at Park Hill an Indian village, a Cherokee drama, and eventually a museum and Cherokee archives, patterned largely after the one that has been in progress at Cherokee, North Carolina for a number of years).

About the time this idea began to be discussed one Martin A. Hastrand, a retired army colonel, arrived in Tahlequah. While still in the army he had married a part Cherokee girl from Tahlequah. They located here and he got the job as Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. Being a glib talker he promoted urban renewal for Tahlequah with himself as manager. The people at first voted for it but when they realized what it was they voted it out more than three to one.

Taking this rebuff in stride, he began immediately to seek the job of promoting the Cherokee cultural center. He is quite successful in selling himself to those who know him least. He played up to Mr. Keeler, who it seems fell for his high-sounding recommendation of himself.

Only five days after the per capita payment closed, at a secret meeting of the Cherokee Historical Society, Hagerstrand, a non-Indian, was given a contract as manager of the Cherokee cultural project. This was the first contract that had been made involving the Cherokee residual fund. The contract was drawn up by the Bureau and the tribal lawyer. It provided an annual salary of $15,000, including an expense account, to be paid out of the Cherokee residual fund. Neither of the Ballengers was notified of this meeting of the Cherokee Historical Society, although Mrs. Ballenger was treasurer and Dr. Ballenger was a director. Now it was clear why the chief had rushed through the $100,000 appropriation in the executive committee for the cultural center, though nothing was said at the time about hiring this individual.

No one except the Bureau and the people concerned with the contract knew of it until December 17, 1965, and the contract had already been in effect a month. Some of the employees at the Bureau said, later, that they thought the Bureau and the chief were never going to let the Cherokee people know of the contract.

Through the agency of the United Kee-too-wahs and others, a petition with hundreds of names protesting the employment of a non-Indian, and at that salary, was sent to the chief. A meeting was demanded to discuss the affair. The Bureau, fearing criticism, tried to keep things as quiet as possible.

A meeting was called for January 15, 1966. It was clear beforehand that the plan was for the chief to make a conciliatory talk, then the tribal lawyer would follow with his high-flown oratory lauding the chief to the skies. The conclusion would be a progress report by the colonel who was there with his array of pictures. In this way the whole group would be awed into silence and harmony would prevail. This method had been used in the past when opposition arose. But the plan failed to work this time.

It started off as usual. The chief ordered the press out. Then he launched out and talked and talked well over an hour. He recounted the times he had resigned and been urged to stay on, and continued rather pathetically appealing for the support of public opinion, seemingly trying to appease his conscience. When he finished, the tribal lawyer arose as expected, but Mrs. Ballenger also arose and refused to relinquish the floor. She pulled no punches, paid her respects to the secret meeting the chief had called and the contract he and his "yes men" had made, emphasizing the unusual tactics employed in making this contract using Cherokee money. She denounced the whole scheme.

The chief then took the floor again and apologetically declared that he did not intend it to be that way and admitted he had made a mistake. He promised that all of the Cherokee money that had been paid to Hagerstrand would be refunded, but he would not fire him. He assured the group that no Cherokee money would be used to pay the manager's salary, even if he had to pay it out of his own pocket, which of course he will not do. A few others made remarks. Jess Ballard asked for a vote of confidence for the chief. All of the Presbyterian friends of the promoter (non-Indian) and some others stood but not all by any means.

This episode has aroused the Cherokee people to assert their rights to a greater extent than formerly and it appears to have caused the chief to try to please the Cherokee people more than in the past.

If this cultural center succeeds at all, it will be purely a commercial enterprise, financed by white men, controlled and operated by white men, and, if there are any profits, they will go to the white men. Maybe a little will trickle down through the white man's fingers to the Cherokee. About all the Cherokees will have to do with it will be to furnish the tradition on which the drama is based.

As to paying the manager of this project out of other funds than the Cherokee money, there is no proof concerning this. Considering the scant information that the Cherokee people are able to get from the Indian Bureau concerning their funds and the use to which they are being put, it is not clear that some of this $100,000 is not still being used for the payment of the manager of this cultural project. The funds are juggled in such a way that the outsider cannot be sure how this money is being used. It looks like the Cherokees may have been tricked again.

Mrs. Ballenger handed Mr. Keeler her resignation before the meeting of January 15, 1966. He later wrote a nice conciliatory letter asking her to reconsider. This she refused.

RECENT GOVERNMENT OF THE CHEROKEE NATION

When the Cherokees were forced to come from Georgia and Tennessee to the Indian Territory they were supposed to enjoy unmolested self government here "as long as grass grows and water runs." But, due to westward migration and rapid economic development, in the short space of two and a half decades, Federal Indian policy underwent a radical change.

The treaty with the Cherokees at the close of the Civil War provided for the formation of an Indian Territory to be composed of the Five Tribes with regular territorial government similar to that preceding the formation of each state, after the original thirteen. But this provision was not made compulsory and, since the Indians were not interested in it, it fell through. However, it does show how the politicians at Washington were beginning to think.

The actual dissolution of Cherokee self government, of course, began with the formation, by the national Congress, of the Dawes Commission in 1893 and the passage of the Curtis Act of 1898. The process was finished then with Oklahoma statehood in 1907.

The Cherokees then had no form of tribal government whatever from 1914, when Chief William Rogers finally quit, until 1941, when Jesse Bartley Milam of Claremore was appointed chief, except on two occasions when a "chief for a day" was appointed to sign some official document that concerned the Cherokee people. On August 13, 1946, Congress passed an Act establishing a Claims Commission to which Indians from all parts of the United States could appeal for redress of wrongs formely committed against them by the Federal Government.

In order to provide some agency for pressing these claims the President of United States appointed J. Bartley Milam, in 1941, as Chief of the Cherokees for this purpose. To assist him in his duties Chief Milam called a meeting of the

Cherokee people at Tahlequah to elect what he called an Executive Committee. This body was to consist of one member from each of the original nine districts of the old Cherokee Nation. Then, since the Cherokees were scattered all over the United States, he had one member elected to represent the Cherokees at large. Later an eleventh member was added to represent the Texas Cherokees.[1] These Texas Cherokees were a group under the leadership of Chief Bowl that were expelled from Texas in 1839.

Comparatively few of the Cherokee people, of course, came to Tahlequah and participated in the election of this Executive Committee. The election, however, gave it a semblance of popular approval. This committee has been continued to the present time, though no election by the people has ever been held since 1941. New members of this committee have been appointed by the chief from time to time as needed. After the appointment they usually go through the form of an election of the new appointees by the committee itself. Thus it has come to be purely a self perpetuating body, in reality appointed by the chief. At first these members were supposed to live in the district they represented, but this required site has long since been ignored. They are now selected from anywhere. The present committee has four lawyers on it.

This committee is altogether a confirming body. It never acts against the will of the chief. It always confirms his suggestions. It in no way sponsors the will of the Cherokee people, whom it nominally is supposed to represent. At most it only suggests a measure, it never attempts to put into execution any measure that the chief does not indorse. It is mainly a subterfuge used by the chief to make it appear that the people are represented. In reality they are not. This committee is wholly advisory in its functions. It is not recognized in any way by the Federal government.

In other words, the chief, appointed by the Department of the Interior, is the sole ruling agency of the Cherokee tribe. The Cherokee people haven't a word to say about any of their affairs. The chief is as absolute in authority as a ruler could ever be. The United States Constitution, of course, allows the Cherokees the right of petition, as it does all other citizens of the United States, but, other than that, they are as powerless in their government as was any negro slave in pre-Civil War days.

In 1948 Chief Milam died and replaced, in 1949, by the appointment of W. W. Keeler of Bartlesville. On December 1, 1949, Mr. Keeler was appointed by the President of the United States to serve as Chief for a period of four years.[2] Then by Executive Order his term "was extended to permit him to serve at the pleasure of the Secretary of the Interior."[3] Mr. Keeler, about one-fourth Cherokee, is Vice President of Phillips Petroleum Company and consequently is a very busy man. He has little time to mix with the Cherokee people or to know their conditions or their needs. They rarely ever see him. Prior to December, 1964, if each Cherokee had been asked, "Who is your chief?", it is doubtful if fifty percent of them could have answered correctly. The agitation concerning the recent payments and the opposition to the present regime has brought him, or at least his name, within the knowledge of more people. The Cherokee people themselves have nothing whatever to say about who shall be their chief, nor do they have anything to say about how their business shall be administered nor how their money shall be spent.

The chief has no office nor any particular place for administering the government. He receives no salary. Many of the Cherokees oppose the kind of chief they have. They want an elected chief, a man who speaks their language, and one who lives among them and is familiar with their conditions and their needs. In June, 1954, a considerable group of the full bloods promoted one Daniel Foreman of Tulsa as a candidate for chief and elected him to the position but they had no way of putting him in office nor of putting the official chief out of office. They claimed to have had permission from the Area Office at Muskogee for holding this election but the Executive Secretary denied giving such permission.[4] The powers in control ignored his election and continued as they were. This elected chief was reconciled by giving him a job. Realizing the futility of his position he soon disappeared from the scene. Other opposition to the present chief has arisen but, so far, no one has devised a plan for putting their opposition into effect.

---

[1] Report of Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Cherokee Nation held at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, October 24, 1954, p. 4.

[2] This appointment was made under Section 6 of the Act of Congress approved April 26, 1906.

[3] This was by Executive Order No. 10250, dated June 5, 1951. Report, etc., p. 6.

[4] Report, etc., of October 24, 154, pp. 6–7.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, located at Muskogee, more commonly referred to as the Area Office, has general control of all Indian affairs in the eastern part of Oklahoma. A similar Bureau is located at Anadarko with supervision of Indians in the western half of the state. Virgil Harrington is the present Director of the Bureau at Muskogee. He has quite a number of assistants, secretaries, and other employees working under him. They are all appointed by the Federal government at Washington. These Bureau employees are supposed to supervise the health, education, employment, industrial development, housing, lands, and general welfare of the Indians. All the money that is due any tribe of Indians, within their jurisdiction, for any purpose comes through this Area Office. All expenditures of any nature for the Indians must be made and accounted for by the Area Office.

It is said that, in the whole Indian Department of the United States, there is one Federal employee for each seventeen and a half Indians. Someone has wondered if it would not be cheaper and better for both the government and the Indians for the government simply to mail to these seventeen Indians the money paid to each Federal employee and let them use it according to their own judgment and do away with the thousands of Department employees altogether.

Since Oklahoma statehood the Cherokee tribe has been practically without funds of any kind, until, in 1962, they won an award of approximately $15,000,000 from the Federal government. In 1948, four lawyers: Earl Boyd Pierce of Muskogee, Dennis Bushyhead of Claremore, George Norvell of Tulsa, and Paul Niebel of Washington, entered into a contract with the Cherokee tribe to represent them in a suit, or suits, for certain claims against the Federal government.[5] These lawyers were to press these suits solely for ten percent of what they could win. The Cherokee tribe was to be liable for no expense whatever. The lawyers were to bear all expenses themselves. If they won anything they were to get ten percent of it, if they did not win anything they were to get nothing and would still be out their expenses. It was purely a gamble for both parties. The fee they received may seem exorbitant, yet, when you consider the contract, it is entirely fair. It must be remembered, too, that these lawyers worked on the case, off and on, for about twelve years and paid considerable expense out of their own pockets.

This award was made to the tribe by the Court of Claims as an additional payment for the Cherokee Outlet, which the government forced the Cherokees to sell, in 1893, for only $8,000,000. After this payment, Cherokees from all over the United States, people who had never taken any pride in their Cherokee blood before this, became very interested in proving their Cherokee citizenship in order to get a share in this payment. Everybody, white as well as Indian, wanted to get their sticky fingers on some of that Cherokee money.

After the per capita payment of $280 to each enrolled Cherokee or his descendants was finished, in October, 1964, a residue of about $2,000,000 was left in the tribal fund. There is some little mystery as to why this individual payment was fixed at $280. At first it was announced that the payment would be $300, then, without any explanation, it was cut to $280. To a close observer the reason seems evident, but, to the general public, the inner workings are not clear. The tribe had long been without money and it seems that the clique that controls tribal matters wanted a fund left in the treasury to use in the promotion of future projects of their own choosing. Agitation immediately began concerning the disposition of this residue. Most of the Cherokees wanted another small per capita payment, but the Department of the Interior, the Cherokee Chief, and the Area Office decided to use it for purposes that they thought would benefit the tribe as a whole, rather than doling it out in small dribs to those who had already received a payment. The larger part of this residue is still a subject of dispute between the tribe as a whole and the few who control it. Other claims are still pending and there is a possibility that other payments may still be made.

The chief has an organization known as the Cherokee Foundation. This, in no sense, is a governing body. It is a charitable institution to help the needy Cherokees in any way possible. It is financed by private contributions. Although always hampered by lack of funds, it has done considerable good in helping the destitute Cherokees with clothing, food, medical assistance, and in other ways.

---

[5] Report, etc., of October 24, 1954, p. 4.

Brief mention might be made of the Intertribal Council of the Five Tribes, though in reality it is not a part of Cherokee government. It has a membership of twenty-five composed of the chief and four other delegates from each of the Five Tribes: Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole. An annually elected president presides over the sessions. It meets once each quarter at a place designated by the president.

The Council gives its main attention to Federal legislation affecting any or all of these Five Tribes. It has a special committee to keep up with pending Congressional legislation and the Council expresses its views for or against any laws that pertain to Indian affairs, but more particularly to laws that might affect these five nations of Indians. If they want a law introduced in Congress they communicate this desire to their Congressmen. The Oklahoma delegation in Congress usually gives due consideration to the Council's opinions and recommendations.

In addition to national legislation the Council takes up anything pertaining to Indian welfare or general concern. However, it has no kind of compulsory authority over any of the tribes. It tends to promote cooperation and good will among the tribes, improve the general welfare of the Indians, and to stand firmly against any mistreatment of the Indian people.

INDIAN LANDS

The Intertribal Council of the Five Tribes concerns itself with almost anything pertaining to the Five Tribes but its main interest is legislative action concerning any Indian tribe. They meet quarterly on the second Wednesday in the month. Until about 1960 the meetings were held in the Federal Building in Muskogee. Since then they have been meeting in the old capitals of the Five Tribes or at one of the several state lodges.

During the fifties much of the business had to do with the welfare and lands situation. It was estimated that from 15,000 to 16,000 acres of Indian land had been lost to the Five Tribes by its being erroneously placed on the tax rolls. It was found that if some non-Indian wanted a certain piece of land he had it placed on the tax roll, and the Indian, knowing that his land was tax free, did not bother to check at the court house and would know nothing about its being on the roll until the man who had bought it came by his place telling him to move.

The county treasurer of Muskogee County sent notices to the Indians to check their lands at the assessor's office. However, that is the only county that did that. The Intertribal Council worked very hard to get a law passed extending the redemption time. This would only mean that the Indian would have more time to buy his own land back. The bill was defeated because it was found that some of the legislators were the ones who were buying this land. It was openly discussed in the meeting that, at that time, the county representative from a certain county was doing this. It seems that the Bureau assumes no responsibility in situations of this kind.

The case of the non-English-speaking Indian that was recorded in the Executive Committee account in which the city of Tulsa paid him only ninety dollars for his land is very peculiar in that the Bureau did not protect the Indian from this injustice. They seem negligent in not checking the value of a restricted Indian's land. Nothing could be done after this couple had signed the papers and it was a legal transaction.

Through the investigations of the land titles required by the sanitation program, some land irregularities have shown up. The sanitation employee found some cases in which a non-Indian would buy land next to an Indian. The non-Indian would hire a surveyor and, in these cases, the surveyor would find that the line took quite a number of feet off the entire side of the Indian's land. In this way the non-Indian would gain several acres off the Indian's land. There was never a case in which the Indian gained acreage.

The Indian would go to the Bureau and all they would say was they had no surveyor. Seeing he was getting no help, the Indian would give up and let the non-Indian have the land. This happened in the Cookson area and, I've been told, there were other places.

Tom Crittenden lives in the Briggs community, six miles east of Tahlequah. A man who owned land next to him sold it to a Muskogee resident. Tom went to visit some of his children and, when he returned, he found that this Muskogee man had fenced in his log house where he had lived for years, and another family was living in the house. He reported this to the Bureau, who said they had no surveyor. He had to hire a surveyor; if they had it surveyed it would not be legal. This he could not afford. At the present time Tom Crittenden is living with his son and the other man has his place.

Polly Bear Wilson sold her allotment near the Arkansas line for $1,500 and expected to use this money to build a house on her husband's undivided inherited land, in the Briggs community. She wanted to be closer to their church. The Bureau approved the sale and, as she was a restricted Indian, held the money at the Bureau office in Muskogee. As there were a number of heirs and the land was undivided, the Bureau would not let her have the money. She was seventy years old and her husband was unable to work, so they were on welfare. As soon as the welfare workers heard she had this money they notified her that, if she did not build her house in six months, she would be dropped from welfare. Still the Bureau would not release her money. Friends tried to help her but eventually her welfare was stopped. A friend went to the local office of the Bureau and told them they were responsible for her losing her welfare check and insisted on them taking care of her. This friend also went to the Area Director in Muskogee and told him: "If the Bureau, who is supposed to look after Indians, can't let a seventy year old restricted Indian woman build a four-room house on her husband's land with her own money, the Bureau ought to go out of business." This had the right effect. Lawyers were called in and arrangements were made to alter the situation. After about a year and a half she got her money to build her house. If the friend hadn't really "gone to bat" for her it is very doubtful if she would ever have got a house. Welfare would have insisted on her spending that $1,500 before they would help her again. Just how many Indians who don't have someone to intercede for them and who can't get the Bureau to move, will never be known, but they well might number in the thousands.

The Public Relations Association

Shortly after the explosive meeting of January 15, 1966, many of the fullblood Cherokees exemplified an interest in knowing more about the affairs of the tribe. In answer to this renewed interest, some of the United Kee-too-wah leaders conceived the idea of forming an organization for the more complete dissemination of information among the Cherokee people, particularly among the fullbloods.

Consequently, a kind of constitution, or statement of purpose, was drawn up and a meeting was called to elect officers and perfect an organization. They called themselves the "Cherokee Public Relations Association." The people were interested in knowing how their business was being managed, how much money the tribe had, how much interest this money was drawing, how it was being used, in other words, to keep abreast of what was going on in the tribe. They considered that they had a right to know how their tribal affairs were being handled.

This organization was barely started when the tribal lawyer called these United Kee-too-wah leaders to his office for a conference. He read their statement of purpose and commended it highly. A certain Cherokee woman, who was interested in seeing what was up, went to this meeting and stayed two or three hours but, when nothing happened, she went home. The tribal attorney and the ever-present Martin A. Hagerstrand held these men in private conference for most of the day. When these United Kee-too-wahs returned home their ideas seemed to have changed. They were not the same after that. Just what was done at this meeting has never been divulged. Your guess is as good as anyone else's.

According to the president, they were allowed a sum of money by the chief for operational expenses. All the information that they give to the Cherokee people seems to be first carefully screened by the Bureau and the ruling regime of the tribe. Bureau representatives and the ubiquitous Martin A. Hagerstrand have attended all, or most all, of the meetings that have been held. The organization has thus been taken over and transformed into something quite different from its original intent. Its original purpose has been entirely thwarted and the Cherokee people are no better informed than they were before.

February 19, 1968.

Senator **Robert F. Kennedy,**
Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education:

Discrimination, as it affects Indian education, plays a significant role in the statistical failure of Cherokees to reach their highest potential, and such side effects as Cherokee uninvolvement and non-Indian or part-Indian paternalism have contributed to their social and economic poverty.

Eastern Oklahoma Indians (primarily members of the Five Civilized Tribes and especially of the Cherokee Tribe) have experienced a different community and social atmosphere from many Indians in western Oklahoma. Some persons believe that one of these differences is a lack of racial discrimination towards Indians in this part of the state as opposed to the Western part where much undisguised discrimination continues to exist. However, I would hasten to say that the experience of eastern Oklahoma Indians has *not* been devoid of a considerable amount of discrimination—both of the open and subtle varieties. (For the sake of clarification I would describe discrimination as: "A showing of difference or favoritism in treatment"—Webster's New World Dictionary, 1960.) I would also add that many subtle individual and community attitudes and practices reflect underlying subconscious feelings of discrimination of which the non-Indian or perhaps even the part-Indian are frequently unaware but which many Indian persons and some other persons are quick to perceive.

It is true that many of our community and social relationships reflect discriminatory attitudes and practices characterized as social rather than racial. However, it has been my experience that Indian racial discrimination does exist in varying degrees in parts of eastern Oklahoma; and, that social discrimination, either by itself or in conjunction with racial discriminaton, also has within it forces that over the years become a destructive cancer affecting the development of individual human personalities and neighborhood communities.

There are also some persons who, either because of past experiences or because of their own personality development, tend to overreact or to misinterpret some community or social attitudes and practices. Such attitudes and practices are then labeled as racial discrimination, whereas in reality they might be basically social or economic forms of discrimination. From the point of view of semantics and social or cultural evaluation, such misinterpretation strictly speaking is incorrect.

However, the overall destructive effects of either kind of discrimination remain similar, if not the same; and those individuals or communities who suffer racial discrimination, who suffer socio-economic discrimination, or who over-react or misinterpret (as discussed) must *not be ignored*—lest much individual or community planning and doing later becomes indignantly rejected by many of those whom it is intended to help, or becomes another instrument in the perpetuation of a dependent and socially isolated people.

As examples of racial discrimination in counties of Cherokee residence, I would like to cite the following cases, among many more, that have come to my attention since 1960.

1. An Indian mother, who requested transfer of her children into the town school because she felt they would have a better educational opportunity there, was told by a high educational official, "What do you want to do that for? You're already doing well enough—you're married to a white man!" This woman's family's income is higher than average, and she happened to be married to a full-blood Indian man—which the official did not know. For several years, this family has repeatedly been denied transfer of their children into the town grade school while most of their white neighbors have succeeded in so doing. This official also stated to another person that white children "do better" in town schools while "Indian kids do better" in country schools. The attitude expressed in the educational official's statements and practices or transfer denial can only be interpreted as discriminatory both in feelings and practice. Other statements made by the official also contribute to this conclusion.

2. Not too long ago, while registering to vote, a white person was standing in line *just behind* an Indian couple, but the election official stated to the white person, "you're next!" The white person replied, "I believe they're (the Indian couple) ahead of me" (which was very obvious). The official answered, "Oh, *you* don't mind, do you, Indian?" Whereupon the Indian couple meekly stepped back, and the white person was registered first.

3. A white medical doctor in a federally operated hospital was noted to be giving some of his Indian patients educational materials specifically designed for Negro persons. When questioned about this, his response was that ". . . Indians aren't much better than niggars and probably never will be." He went on to state, "Those Indians who aren't any different probably won't care about the educational materials anyway, but those who do care might get mad enough to try to do better than niggars do." This doctor stated that the white race was superior to other races and that Indians, like "niggars," couldn't "cut the salt." This attitude permeated many of his relationships with his Indian patients; and, while his medical skills were often appreciated, his racial bias was frequently

detected—thereby reducing his ability to reach those of higher Indian blood quantum and effectively to promote good medical and health practices.

4. A local businessman who was approached in regard to upgrading his pay scale for his employees, who were predominantly Indian, stated that, "Indians are too damn lazy to get any more pay and don't always deserve what they do get" (between 65 and 85 cents per hour). "They just dont stay with the job—aren't reliable". When asked if each Indian employee could be treated separately on the basis of his own worth, he replied that he hadn't found any "real good ones" yet, but perhaps he might some day—he "supposed" all Indians weren't "that lazy", but "mighty damn close".

5. A fullblood Indian family with a college education told of their attempts to find a church congregation to which they could relate easily and comfortably; and, where they felt that their children (who, like their parents, were very dark Indians) would not face discriminatory remarks and practices from their teachers or peers. It was not until reaching the fifth church that they found a reasonably good atmosphere; and in commenting about this last church, the husband said, "At least nobody *shows* any feeling against us at church." Socially, however, they feel they continue to be left out by most members of the congregation, which may be due either to racial or social discrimination or a combination of both.

While all of these examples are not directly related to education, they do reflect certain aspects of general atmosphere in regard to Indian-white relations which affect the educational experience of Indian children in eastern Oklahoma.

Such matters as a gross lack of bilingual educational materials for Cherokee Indians (whose syllabary invented by Sequoyah is world renowned), the failure of both state supported public and Bureau of Indian Affairs schools to provide a bilingual educational approach and experience for Indian students, and the failure of the area's only state institution of higher learning (in the midst of Cherokee country and originally founded by and for Cherokees) to provide specialized courses in the Cherokee language and culture and greater emphasis on cross-cultural concepts of learning and teaching, would seem to imply EITHER a "head in the sand" approach to Indian education OR a gross racial bias directed against Indians (especially Cherokees) as a defeated and minority people who should pattern their life and behavior after their "more civilized" Anglo Saxon conquerors.

If the Cherokee people of eastern Oklahoma are fully to participate in the building of our nation and in the sharing of its fruits, then a 'revolution' must take place, and it must take place soon—for the slow evolutionary processes of social and educational development in this area have seemed, for most Cherokees living in Cherokee communities, to lead nowhere; and the resultant mood may be characterized by disappointment, frustration, apathy and even anger. When I speak of 'revolution', I speak *not* of violence, for this would only contribute to further separation and bitterness between Indian and non-Indian. I speak, rather, of a revolution of ideas and opportunities, beginning with a significant change in the Cherokee's role in their tribal affairs—from a role of being paternalistically managed to one of being meaningfully involved. The subject of tribal affairs and tribal government may seem foreign to the subject of education. But in a free society, a peoples' right to govern themselves has a direct relationship to the educational programs and processes that evolve. Because of this, I would venture to suggest that the present tribal official leadership by government appointment and Bureau of Indian Affairs supervision should be considered intolerable in this decade, and that it should be replaced by a truly tribal government elected by Cherokees who live in their original five county area in northeast Oklahoma. Also, such a new government, it would seem, should *not* be paternalistically "handed over" to an implied 'inferior' people; but rather, beginning with community discussions, study, and perhaps a constitutional convention, it should be initiated, planned, and carried out by the very people for whom such a government is created to serve.

Such an opportunity, if permitted and encouraged, could lay the foundation for a new day in the glorious and tragic history of the Cherokee people. Such an opportunity, denied them for more than half a century, could lead to a peaceful and creative 'revolution' in their social, economic and community life—a life in which their highest potential could be reached. To such a day this nation, and Cherokees as a creative part of it, should look with anticipation and joy. And to such a day, we trust your Committee will help in creating a legislative atmosphere which would make it possible.

Almost all agree that education is a key to a 'good life'. However, without meaningful involvement and effective participation in both the educational planning and experience, then education can become a mockery to the very people whom it is intended to serve. Your Committee's attention to this issue is encouraged.

(Signed) ARMIN L. SAEGER, Jr.,[1] ACWS.
Route 4, Box 38-A, Tahlequah, Okla.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you.

The next witnesses are Mr. Hiner Doublehead and Mr. Andrew Dreadfulwater.

Would you identify yourselves?

STATEMENTS OF ANDREW DREADFULWATER, CHAIRMAN, ORIGINAL CHEROKEE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, TAHLEQUAH, OKLA., AND HINER DOUBLEHEAD, JOURNEYMAN MACHINIST AND WELDER, AND PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETER, STILWELL, OKLA.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. Senator Kennedy and Senator Fannin, I am Hiner Doublehead, and I will attempt to translate for Mr. Dreadfulwater. Mr. Dreadfulwater is on my left, and he will read in Cherokee and I will attempt to translate simultaneously.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I wonder what that's going to sound like.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. When I first come up here, I was going to talk Cherokee to you. I think you would have the same experience that the Indian child experiences when he goes into a white school.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. A very good point.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. He doesn't understand what the people are talking about.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Take the microphone and we will just hear from you and he can read it quietly if he likes in Cherokee, and we will at least get one of the languages.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. He wants to read it in Cherokee, and I will come back in English with it, sentence by sentence.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. We just have so many witnesses, and we would like to hear from all of them, and they are Cherokees. We hate to have to cut them off at the end. You proceed the way you want. I don't want to make any Cherokee mad at me right at the moment. I have a feeling there are more of them in this room than there are of us.

Mr. DREADFULWATER (Mr. Doublehead interpreting). "I am glad to have the opportunity to say a few words, but a few words here upon education will not cure the situation here. Many of the laws and rules upon Cherokee education today were written by people long dead, but Cherokees live differently today than in the day when those laws and rules were made. I want to tell you about Cherokees. I am not talking about the white people with the sub-Indian blood. I am not talking about mixed bloods, and I am not talking about whites, and I am not talking about roll numbers. I am talking about Cherokees.

---

[1] By profession, presently executive director of the Indian Rights Association, and formerly, clinical social worker at the PHS Indian Hospital, Tahlequah, Okla.

There are two kinds of Cherokees: One that thinks they are white people, and that think they are not Cherokees. The other, of course, knows he is a Cherokee and acts that way. Both kinds suffer the same sort of treatment, because they are treated as though they are identical. Both attend the same school. They have equal instructions at school, but the educational system is designed to educate white children. The effect upon the Cherokees of two kinds is different. The educated Cherokee who knows he is a Cherokee tries to help his people, and immediately he is stopped and loses his job. The other kind is not concerned with Cherokee problems, ignores them and does not lose his job. It is this that the people from outside of our country who visit here for a little while and who try to see the problems do not see and cannot see. Even the white people who live among us do not see this.

"We are speaking of education. The purpose of the Original Cherokee Community Organization is to educate people to what I have just said, all kinds of people. Hundreds of thousands of Cherokee tribal dollars have been spent for trivial, unimportant things not directed anywhere. The real problems of education and what we have done and are doing has not spent—we have not spent one dime of Cherokee or Government money. We publish a newspaper, both in English and in Cherokee, that is for the sole purpose of presenting this essential truth. We gather facts that demonstrate the truth. We hope to publish histories of all Cherokee institutions and of those that are not Cherokee which affect Cherokees. These services are educational, but in the near future we expect to provide other services.

"We also provide a place for which Cherokees can say no, which is a place that Cherokees have had not, have never had before. One major goal that we have and which we are now working toward is school where all instruction will be bilingual. Texts will be in Cherokee and also in English. Teachers will be bilingual and there will be no feeling that either Cherokee or English is a less honored language." Andrew Dreadfulwater's speech.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Mr. Doublehead, would you want to add anything?

Mr. Doublehead. I wanted to add a little note, but I have a few things that I would like to say, talking about the educating of Cherokees, of course. My name is Hiner Doublehead, and I am a fullblooded Cherokee from Stilwell, Okla., and I am a graduate of Haskell Institute, and I have a B.S. degree from the Northeastern State College, and I taught school for 1 year and now I am a journeyman machinist and welder. I am a professional interpreter, and have taught bilingual languages in a couple of places in Delaware County.

I have a couple of notes written down here saying that the Indian child has a very difficult time. It's been brought out already that the adjusting to the culture of the white——

Senator Kennedy of New York. Just express that a little bit yourself. Will you describe that?

Mr. Doublehead. When I first started to school, I was 6 years old. My mother and dad never spoke English, very little, only when they had to; and then the only thing I knew was my English name and possibly my age. Of course, I knew it in Cherokee but I didn't know it in English. And I came to school. I remember very well that I was bewildered, but I didn't know what was going on because everything was English to me, and I couldn't understand it; and I began to feel I was kind of, you know, off, or that something was wrong with me, because I didn't understand that lingo. And I think that affects any children, the same as it affected me. I was kind of backwards, kind of shy, in a way. Of course, I am aggressive in a way. And then they started teaching us the ABC's. You just see a sign and they say, "Hiner, say A." Great, I go, [indicating] look like a teepee with a cross over it, see, the A. I don't know what it was, you see. Then they started reading fairy tales to me, like little gingerbread boy. I couldn't see how a gingerbread could get of an oven and run, see.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. That never occurred to me.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. It took me exactly—not exactly, but it took me about 3 or 4 years to begin to grasp the language. But by that time I was three years behind my schoolmates, who were non-Indians, but I stayed with them somehow. I don't know if the teacher felt sorry for me, but I think my teacher at that time was exceptionally good. I think she really tried to help the Cherokee student, and she is still teaching there. Her name is Miss Lucille Star, and I want to give her great credit for her effort in teaching the Cherokee Indians.

And another thing I think that is lacking in the Indian education is the teachers themselves. They do not understand Indian children, and I think that could be improved upon by teaching. The teacher who teaches Indians in the Cherokee country the history of the real Cherokees instead of just giving them a glimpse of it—they had the finest school system in the world a few years back. That's immaterial—that doesn't tell them anything. It just tells them that they did have it once, but now they haven't got it. Within less than a hundred years, from the highest school system in the world on this side of the Mississippi we have dropped down to nothing. Senator Fannin quoted those statistics.

Now, the other thing, I think some schools are inadequate to fit the Indian child. Coming from an Indian family and coming from a white family are two different feelings. Most people don't realize that. There are many people who are dedicated people, but they don't realize that there are differences in the homelife.

I have tried to explain that the Indian, the Cherokee, from a Cherokee home is more or less on his own. He's not regimented or something, you know. He doesn't eat when he's supposed to—I mean when he's asked to or required to; or he goes to bed when he gets ready or he gets up when he wants to at 4 o'clock in the morning and will run a couple of miles if he wants to. That's a little bit—just an example. But in schools, you know, you get to a point where you have to do this at 9 o'clock, you do this at 10, and you do this at 12, and you go back and do the same thing day in and day out. I think it's kind of boring to Indian children. And that's the difference between the whites and the Indians, I think in a lot of ways, but maybe that's not all of it.

To improve Indian education, I think, if you need to have bilingual instructors, you should have bilingual instructors or have Indian schools, such as Mr. Dreadfulwater suggested. As I recall, when I was in high school, or maybe in the upper or lower grades, I would read something in English, and I would begin to think in Cherokee.

I would begin to try to translate what I read into Cherokee, and if I understood my English well, then I interpreted it or translated it into Cherokee and I got the message, but many a day I have sat in the classroom and the teacher—or even when I was in college, I think it had some effect on me from my earlier training—I would be sitting in college and some doctor, professor, would be lecturing on some subject and it would just be going through me just like this. I didn't understand it, really. But then I would look through my notes and I would try to recall back what he had said, and then I would translate it into Cherokee and I would get it.

So much for education. I work for the Carnegie Cross Educational Project. Dr. Robert Thomas was the director. I worked for him as assistant director—I mean assistant researcher, and the sole purpose of the project was to see if a Cherokee Indian was literate in his own language, to see if he could learn the other language. This was the research. I mean it was just a theory they had that it was possible for that to happen. But we ran into quite a bit of opposition. In fact, we were threatened to be run out of town and run out of my home. This is my home, which I wasn't going to leave, about to leave because this is my home. At first we had a very good relationship with them. Everything was just going fine and all of a sudden they were just opposed to us. I don't know for what reason they opposed us, but we weren't—our aim wasn't to do anything that would harm them.

Senator Kennedy of New York. What is the reason there was so much controversy about the Carnegie report, the Carnegie study?

Mr. Doublehead. The only thing I could—I have tried to study this out, and we have never done anything that I thought that provoked it. We thought that we might be stepping on somebody's toes or could or would be able to reveal something that they didn't want revealed. I don't know what that is. That's my own personal opinion.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Didn't they give you the expression of being Communist inspired?

Mr. Doublehead. We had heard that from some people in the tribal government or through other sources that we had been called Communists, and we were agitators and dissenters. Well, anything you do, you are going to have dissenters. That's what makes the market so healthy, right?

Senator Kennedy of New York. That's what I say.

Mr. Doublehead. These people didn't want dissent, see. They didn't want opposition. And we have been called Communists, and I was called a "Commie" right in the public one time, but I just laughed it off. I just figured the guy who called me that doesn't know what a "Commie" is. If he called me that, I know that he doesn't know what a "Commie" is.

Senator Kennedy of New York. What sort of things were you suggesting in that report that caused them so much concern?

Mr. Doublehead. I don't know. The only thing I can see is that we were trying to educate the Cherokees bilingually. We had some publications here that we published solely for the purpose of educating Cherokees. We have several copies here. This one here was designed to teach how to read Cherokee.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you think that the Cherokee people have much control over their educational system?

Mr. **Doublehead**. No, sir; I don't think they have any control at all. Like Mrs. Ballenger said, there are two or three different kinds of Cherokees, according to records or legal interpretation. Legally there are about 140,000 Cherokees. I mean there are descenders of the Cherokees who aren't on the rolls, but many thousands of those are maybe one-eighth or less, and legally through laws they can be classified as Cherokee. Then you have some that are a quarter, a half, three-quarters and fullbloods. The Cherokees—this is most Cherokees, half Cherokee and half white, white with Cherokee blood, or he could be a Cherokee with white blood. Do you get me? Here we are Cherokees, and here's a guy that is a half Cherokee and half white. He can either be a Cherokee or be white. There's two kinds of Indians in the Cherokee community, the ones that are always looking down on the fullblood Cherokee, the traditional Cherokees——

Senator **Fannin**. How do you feel that they should make this determination whether or not they deserve recognition as being Indians? In other words, what is your definition of a Cherokee?

Mr. **Doublehead**. For legal purposes, I would think a half.

Senator **Fannin**. One-half?

Mr. **Doublehead**. At least.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Going back to the educational system, Mr. Doublehead, do you think that there is more that can be done to bring the Cherokees into a participation and partnership with those who are educating their children? And second, there was some question raised about the selection of the chief and the selection of a board. Is there anything that is done by them to take an active role in assuring that the education of the children, the Cherokee children, is satisfactory? And third, what can a parent—mother or father—do if they feel their children are not being adequately educated?

Mr. **Doublehead**. The first point, Senator——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. They all bear on one another.

Mr. **Doublehead**. I believe that where there is a heavy concentration of Indian children in school or even a few, I think they should have Cherokees take part in the school programing. As I see it now, in most schools that I have experienced or have studied through my own, in talking to people who have children in these schools—because I come from a community where we have a heavy concentration of Cherokees—they feel like that they are not welcomed in these schools simply because no effort had been made to have them take part in some of these activities in schools.

The second question was, Has the chief of our nation——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Well, whether you think that is a satisfactory system, arrangement? Do you think that is a satisfactory arrangement to insure that the wishes and the desires of the Cherokee people are listened to and acted upon?

Mr. **Doublehead**. I don't quite understand you, Senator.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Whether the governmental arrangement at the moment for the Cherokee people, whether you think that that's satisfactory. There was some criticism earlier.

Mr. **Doublehead**. No, I don't think so.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Will you tell us why?

Mr. **Doublehead**. Well, for one thing, with that kind of a system, I don't think that they have given the Cherokee much choice of what to do, really. Is that what you are after when you asked me that question?

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Yes. If you want to expand on it, you may.

Mr. **Doublehead**. Because I think in that kind of a system, they should at least try to guide or steer what courses they think you should take instead of taking the course which you desire for yourself.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What do you think should be done?

Mr. **Doublehead**. I am saying something like that should be changed.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What would you do instead?

Mr. **Doublehead**. Well, it seems like the people that do that ought to be educated. Those are the guys that should be educated in, in plain words, what makes the Cherokee tick, you know, what makes him a Cherokee, see. I don't think I quite answered your question.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What I am trying to find out is whether there is any better system you can establish so that the Cherokee people have a greater role in the programs that are developed. That includes any which have an effect on their lives, and whether that obviously includes education.

Mr. **Doublehead**. Right.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And that includes, I suppose, welfare; includes all of the other governmental programs. Now, whether there should be some other way in selecting the leadership of the Cherokee people or whether you think that this present system of having the leader of the Cherokee people selected by the President, whether you think that is satisfactory, that's what I am trying to find out from you, and whether that in turn has an effect on education, has an effect on whether the Cherokee people participate?

Mr. **Doublehead**. I think if the Cherokees elected their own chief and elected their own executive committee, elected, you know, whatever goes with a government, then I think that the Cherokees would feel more free to express their feelings concerning education. I think by having free elections in the Cherokee Nation—what is the word for that when you—I am a little nervous, you know—that would give the Indian more initiative.

Senator **Fannin**. Motivation.

Mr. **Doublehead**. Motivation. Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Very good.

Mr. **Doublehead**. Yes, I think election of their own tribal officials——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you think that Indian parents at the moment are brought in sufficiently into the educational system of the children?

Mr. **Doublehead**. Right.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you think they are brought in enough at the moment?

Mr. **Doublehead**. No.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And what does a parent do if he feels that his child is not receiving an adequate education in the school system? Is there anything that he can do?

Mr. **Doublehead**. The Cherokees I am speaking of, what can they do? He's not educated himself, see.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. So there is not much they can do?

Mr. **Doublehead**. Not much they can do.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. And you don't think that the children at the moment are being educated satisfactorily in the school system?

Mr. **Doublehead**. No, I really don't think they are, simply because there is too much of a cultural barrier and a language barrier.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Are they going on to higher professions? Do you find many of the Cherokees are going on to graduate school and becoming lawyers or doctors or engineers?

Mr. **Doublehead**. I have found—I am very concerned about this thing. There are Cherokees around home I know real well and in other communities who drop out of school when they are mostly around the 10th or 11th grades. We have a great percent of Cherokee dropouts in those communities.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. So they are not going on to these other professions?

Mr. **Doublehead**. No.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. The teaching profession that Senator Fannin has mentioned and other professions—doctors, lawyers, and engineers?

Mr. **Doublehead**. I had one cousin who finished high school and went on to school to study to be a doctor. But somehow or another his training, his earlier training, was inadequate for what would be a chemical education needed to become a doctor.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. There's a high rate of unemployment, is there not, amongst the Cherokee?

Mr. **Doublehead**. Yes, a very high rate of unemployment.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. We are about finished, but does Mr. Dreadfulwater have anything to add to what we have been talking about, or is there anything that he wants to bring to the attention of the subcommittee? You had a son, Andrew, who was at the Sequoyah School, did you not?

Mr. **Doublehead** (interpreting). Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What happened to him?

Mr. **Doublehead** (interpreting). Recently returned home. The reason why he returned home was because he had a row with the board of school officials. The reason for having a row was because he had forgotten his lesson or books, and he was told to go on home. He's here in the crowd, if you care to ask him some questions.

Mrs. **Dreadfulwater**. I am his mother.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is he here, do you want him to say anything? That's up to him. Do you want to say anything? You don't have to say anything; whatever you like. What is your name?

Mr. **Albert Dreadfulwater**. My name is Albert Dreadfulwater, not Andrew.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You are Albert Dreadfulwater?

Mr. **Albert Dreadfulwater**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Can you tell me from your experience as far as what the other students think of the educational system?

Mr. **Albert Dreadfulwater**. I think the curriculum is adequate, but

I think it's more the adviser-student relationship than it is the student, you know; you know, the teacher, the administration, the eachers, you know. In the school—I think it's all right in school, but getting back to the dorms is where the problem is to me.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What kind of a problem?

Mr. **Albert Dreadfulwater.** The advisers are—I think most of them are—they are capable, you know, of supervising the boys and the girls at Sequoyah, but there are one or two that kind of get on the students' nerves you know.

Mr. **Doublehead.** He has been put on the spot because he hasn't returned back to school.

Mr. **Albert Dreadfulwater.** I think the teachers there are really fine teachers.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. That will help you.

Mr. **Albert Dreadfulwater.** And the administration is very good there.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Yes. I think you have done very well for yourself.

Senator **Fannin.** Is there just one teacher with whom you didn't get along, or one supervisor, counselor?

Mr. **Albert Dreadfulwater.** Yes, sir. He's kind of roughshod in the way he does things.

Senator **Fannin.** I would like to thank you very much.

Mr. Doublehead, I would like to ask you a few questions. You taught bilingual courses in Cherokee?

Mr. **Doublehead.** Yes, I did.

Senator **Fannin.** I was wondering why you did not continue your teaching profession? Was it from the standpoint of remuneration, salaries?

Mr. **Doublehead.** The thing was, when I taught school back in 1951, I think it was, I was only given a temporary certificate from the State of Oklahoma, giving you the right to teach school in the State of Oklahoma. Although I had received my degree in science, bachelor of science, I had somehow or my counseling had overlooked 1 hour of math.

Senator **Fannin.** It was a technicality?

Mr. **Doublehead.** Well, I didn't have the hour.

Senator **Fannin.** Why I asked you the questions is: I think you would realize the benefits that would accrue not only to the children but also to the parents if the parents can communicate with the school authorities. In other words, if you have someone at the school, say, for the first two grades, teaching, who can speak Cherokee, then they cannot only get along with the students, communicate with the students, but it would be an advantage, too, from the standpoint of the parents. Would they be more willing to work with the school in this regard?

Mr. **Doublehead.** I think it would be a great—I think that would be good, but I don't think it goes far enough. In a lot of cases—several were there up in high schools where the subjects were a little more difficult. I think they should have bilingual instructors there who could interpret some of the things that they can't understand, you see.

Senator **Fannin.** I think we agree, and we do have a bilingual program now that is being offered by the Federal Government. It does not include the BIA schools, but what I am trying to decide from your testimony is whether you feel that we would benefit greatly if we did have bilinguals. How could we get them? If we could train the Cherokee youngsters to teach, that would be one source.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. Right.

Senator FANNIN. And perhaps one of the better sources.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. Right.

Seator FANNIN. What will it take to accomplish that objective?

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. Money.

Senator FANNIN. All right. Let's be very serious, because I think you are right.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. I really don't know how you go about that.

Senator FANNIN. In other words, you feel that they would need to be subsidized to a certain extent?

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. Would have to be.

Senator FANNIN. And you feel that the youngsters would go into training or counsel—would go into it, and if they were encouraged—to go into the teaching profession?

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. I also believe that this would be encouragement to our Cherokee children.

Senator FANNIN. I do, too; but I am just trying to get your analysis of this problem. How can we solve it? How can we get more of our youngsters to go into the teaching profession, into the academic world?

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. To get the Indian children interested in school, there has to be something in that school that tells them they are Indian. The way the school is set up now, when he gets into the school, he has to lose his Indian identity. He is forced to go into something he can't cope with. Say, for instance, the Cherokees took over the white country and they built the Department of White, or something like that, Bureau of White Affairs, and then they built white schools.

Senator FANNIN. I understand what you are talking about. But what I am trying to do is get to this point.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. So the schools are taught in Cherokee, taught Cherokee culture, and they tell this white kid, "Okay, be an Indian." They can't do it. That's same thing that is happening in the Indian education of today.

Senator FANNIN. But I want to turn around the other way and have the children realize they have a benefit by knowing the Cherokee language, that they can go ahead with their educational program and come back and teach in the schools, and this is the goal that we must have, I believe.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. Yes.

Senator FANNIN. That is why I asked you the question, how to best accomplish this objective.

Mr. DOUBLEHEAD. I attempted to answer this for you. I might not make myself too clear. My idea of that is to have something in that school, like I say, which makes the Indian comfortable in the school system, see. I don't know what that is. I don't know. There's something there that makes them very uncomfortable.

Senator FANNIN. Given confidence, by having knowledge of the Cherokee language, it is going to help them.

Mr. **Doublehead.** If there is Cherokee language taught in that school, I think that would help.

Senator **Fannin.** Thank you every much.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you very much. Our next witness is Mrs. Lucille Proctor.

Mrs. Proctor, and this is your son, would you identify yourself?

STATEMENT OF MRS. LUCILLE PROCTOR, ACCOMPANIED BY HER SON, WESLEY PROCTOR, INTERPRETER

Mr. **Proctor.** Mr. Kennedy, this is my mother, Lucille Proctor, and I am her son, Wesley Proctor. She has her testimony written in Cherokee, but also I have it translated and I have it.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Would you give it to us?

Mr. **Proctor.** And she has asked me to go ahead and read it.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Okay. Would you read it? Do you speak English, Mrs. Proctor?

Mr. **Proctor.** She does a little.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Very little?

Mr. **Proctor.** She is testifying on the research she did on the project. She is saying: I am very proud for the Cherokees to have been given the opportunity to bring out in the open the educational problems.

First of all, I have visited 160 families. I have visited many families, but they refused to give any information for the simple reason they had been coerced not to give me any information. A few people told me whom the persons were who coerced them not to give any information.

Second of all, this is how the situation is of the past education of the elderly people. They have very little education. The main reason is that the families were poverty-stricken and therefore could not afford to properly clothe or feed their children, nor could they get assistance anywhere.

The elderly people's parents, who have gone beyond, have said in the past. "What good is an education?" Also, another reason is the distance the children had to walk to school.

Some children have said that they are well enough educated to sign their own names, but most of them have to sign an "X" and have it verified with someone else's signature.

These are the statements of the Cherokees she visited, of the older Cherokees, about 50 years of age and older. Some people have said that the most time they have spent in school was 2 days or 2 weeks. A lot of their parents have said that the reason why they have not had their education is that their parents didn't encourage them to go to school. It is their statement.

Third of all, Cherokees in their thirties and forties have said they just couldn't get their education simply because the parents could not afford to pay for schoolbooks, hot lunches, and couldn't provide proper clothing for their children.

Many Cherokees have tried to get an education, but they have quit school simply because the schoolteachers have showed prejudice against the Cherokee Indian children. Some Cherokees have said that when they got old enough to get a job to earn money for the purpose of buying clothes to wear to school, they found themselves forgetting completely about returning to school after working a while.

I have found that there are no job opportunities for a few high school graduates.

Fourth, I have found that there were only a few just over the age of 20 who had been graduated from high school. Many have given up the idea of going to college because of their academic background and because of not being able to afford expensive clothing such as the college students wear.

The local school systems have failed to properly educate our Cherokee Indians. I have found that many have been promoted from grade to grade even though they didn't earn their grade, and when they reached high school it was difficult for them to do high school work.

Cherokee students are unable to comprehend the teaching methods used in classes. Therefore, they become discouraged and fail. A large number of Cherokee students are ashamed to attend school because their parents are unable to provide adequate clothing, money for the hot lunch programs, and unable to pay for schoolbooks and supplies.

These are some of the reasons our children quit school.

Today we have high school graduates who are without work and are unable to secure a well-paying job. Even though a Cherokee has an equal education and is capable of doing the same type of work, he does not have equal job opportunity. We have some Cherokees among us who have gone through various specialized training programs and yet are unsuccessful in obtaining work in their field. This Cherokee is forced to accept hard labor at meager wages and his training is unused.

I find that a Cherokee student is faced with many problems today. First of all, mathematics is very difficult for the Indian student. I have been told that due to lack of student-teacher communication, the Indian student most often is overlooked. Also, I have found out that the teachers dislike the Cherokee children and mistreat them. It would be nice if all the teachers would accept the Cherokee and the non-Indian child on equal terms. Some of the children who are on the hot lunch program are unable to eat what is served in school cafeterias as it disagrees with them. These children are forced to eat. Others who find the foods enjoyable are denied seconds.

There is a private program called the Christian Children's Fund. Qualified students receive an allowance every 3 months. Students who receive the fund are given a specified store to get their clothing, and the Cherokees wonder why they shouldn't have their own choice of clothing stores to get their items.

The parents have also complained about their children bringing excessive homework from school. Some of the teachers expect the mothers of the students to assist their children with their studies. The mothers have replied, "How can I help to teach my children when I am uneducated?"

They have directed all of our children to go to school, but sometimes they do not want to go to school because they would get whipped if they don't make a passing grade or fail a test.

I have found that a 6-year-old child's problems begin when he first starts to school. If the child does not comprehend directions given by his teacher, he is punished with a paddle.

To function in white society, the Indian child must learn three things: First, he must overcome a language barrier; second, he has to learn to read and write the English language; third, he is required to learn appropriate behavior in order to communicate socially.

In my research I found many Cherokees who spoke no English when they started school. The Cherokee child faces hostility daily, enduring insults, hurtful rumors, bullying and foul language.

The Cherokee relocation plan allots a man and his wife—we are getting into the relocation things—and his family enough money to transport his family and belongings to a new location in any part of the country he may choose. He is expected to seek employment and adjust to a new environment with no further assistance.

For most of our Cherokee people, the adjustments in this complicated new way of life are too great to bear, and the failure and shame is, for most, inevitable. This is what some Cherokees have said after experiencing relocation.

This concludes my past research on Indian education.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you very much.

Mr. **Proctor.** She also has a few things summarizing what the Cherokees would like to have.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Go ahead. Could you give us those? These are some suggestions?

Mr. **Proctor.** Yes, some suggestions.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You may proceed.

Mr. **Proctor.** There are about 14 different kinds of things that the Cherokee children would like to have, and parents also.

We would like our children to have a good education.

We would like to keep our country schools, for they are convenient.

We would like to have teachers treat our children equally; to care for our children as they do the non-Indian.

We would like to have Cherokee-speaking teachers in our schools.

We would like to have a Cherokee primary teacher along with the non-Indian teacher.

We would like to send our children to college, but Cherokees are very poor; much financial aid is necessary. We would like to have a free choice in where our children go to college. BIA tends to dictate college assignment, and consequently many students do not go.

We would like an equal opportunity for our children to use their education.

We would like an opportunity for our children to use their education for their own people in Oklahoma for this reason: It is their home and their own Cherokee people.

We would like to have better principals, teachers, and school board members and more Indians in all of these positions.

We would like to have a school bus driver who isn't a teacher, principal and superintendent.

We would also like a larger bus to transport our children.

The Cherokee would also like for our children's workbooks and lunch fees to be paid as they should be.

We do not appreciate our children being punished for such reasons as having difficulty learning and failing in grades, for they scare the students.

Some of the members of the 12th grade education class did not receive their diplomas. These students realized that they would need this diploma to enable them to get a job, but these young people were too ashamed to appear at the ceremony because they had no decent clothes to wear nor could they afford to buy their class rings and pictures.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you. That was very, very good, and I think a helpful and an eloquent statement. I congratulate you on behalf of the subcommittee.

I gather from your statement that you don't feel that the Cherokees play much of a role in governing how their children are going to be educated?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). That's right.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. When you were involved in a system yourself—in a program to try to improve the education of the Cherokee children—you mentioned that there was coercion used by individuals against Cherokees so that they wouldn't cooperate with you. By whom was that coercion used?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). The Cherokees themselves told her that somebody was going around telling these people not to cooperate, not to answer any questions when she was filling out a questionnaire.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Did you ever identify who this was who was telling them not to answer?

Mr. PROCTOR. (interpreting). Sure.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would she want to tell us who, or what?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). She said that she also knows who called her a Communist and knows who the person was. She says if you are going to ask her to call out the person's name, that she is willing to give it.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. She will not give it?

Mr. PROCTOR. She will give it to you, if you were asking her to tell you who the person was. Well, these Cherokees she was visiting, she just told me that these Cherokees were told that—the Cherokees themselves and the person who was telling these Cherokees said that he said that he didn't know, that it was possible that it was a Communist who had employed her to do this: to make research.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I think as long as we have gone this far, we had better identify who the people were.

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). She thought it over and said she doesn't want to give the person's name.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Can I ask her why she won't give us the name?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). Due to the fact that this person who had called her a Communist was also a Cherokee. That's the only reason why she won't give it.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I think that if we are going to make some progress in this field, it's going to be up to her, and I am not going to press it. It just seems to me that what she suggested as far as what needs to be done in the field of education is not so extreme, and it's not too radical that it can't be accepted. It's fundamentally accepted in other parts of the country with other citizens who are non-Indian, and what we are interested in is trying to improve the education of the Indian children. I think that others who make this same kind of effort shouldn't be threatened and shouldn't be coerced, but people should work together. That is why it's of concern to me, because I don't think, quite frankly, from what we saw this morning and the testimony that we have heard today, that the educational program for Indian children, Cherokee children, is adequate or satisfactory in the school system. That's true also elsewhere in the country. It's true in New York and it's true in Idaho and it's true in California and, as Senator Fannin said, it's true in Arizona, but that doesn't excuse any of us. There are obviously things that can be done here to improve the educational system. I think that this lady has made some excellent suggestions, and I think to go around to parents to find out what they think about these matters is very, very important, so it is a matter of concern to me, whether it's Cherokee or someone else, who threatens them and calls them names because they are trying to improve the educational system. I am not going to follow it up any further if she would rather not give the name, but I just say that I think that it's very, very unfortunate that this kind of a situation exists in Eastern Oklahoma. I don't think you have to translate all that information, but maybe you could summarize it.

Mrs. Ballenger. This survey in which Mrs. Proctor participated in was under the Dr. Wax who came here to look into the Cherokee education, and they were sent here by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. That was their grant. And they procured her to make this survey, and, of course, they were attacked, as I said in my report.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I don't understand why people wouldn't want to improve the educational system.

Mrs. Ballenger. That's it. That is what is unbelievable.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Who is attacking them?

Mrs. Ballenger. The powers who be.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Who are the powers who be?

Mrs. Ballenger. I don't want to tell—say their names out like this, because I am just like Mrs. Proctor, I have to live here the rest of my life, and I intend to, and I don't think it's the thing for me to do.

Senator Kennedy of New York. You have a feeling that there is a sense of fear?

Mrs. Ballenger. Yes, there is.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Do you think there is?

Mrs. Ballenger. Yes.

Mr. Doublehead. I think I know who has this power structure. It's the tribal government. I think why they suppress any investigation, even you probably will be—I don't know if they will call you a Communist or not, but I mean most certainly your subcommittee will probably be classified as a meddler. So we had the same opposition with the Carnegie cross cultural education. We were blackballed. We were blacklisted and we were called Communists and agitators and what have you, and the sole purpose of the research was to improve education among Cherokees. So the only person who could suppress research like this is the tribal government, because they have——

Senator Kennedy of New York. Is that correct?

Mrs. Ballenger. Yes.

Mr. Doublehead. They have just a big stick, powerful.

Senator FANNIN. We certainly share your desires in wanting to improve the educational program. We are sorry that some of the matters that are involved—what I would like to do is try to establish some priorities as far as the program is concerned. I think that Mrs. Proctor and her son Wesley have brought out some very important issues when they said this is what the Cherokees would like to have, and they listed 14 points. We all come back to the fourth point. We would like to have Cherokee-speaking teachers in our schools. Do you feel that the first two grades would be the most important in that regard?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). In her opinion, one and two, but the Cherokees she spoke to who had opinions, you know, had the opportunity to bring this out, but they didn't say that.

Senator FANNIN. Do you feel that the Cherokees, members of the Cherokee tribe, would like to see their youth trained so that they can come back and teach their own people?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). That's what they want.

Senator FANNIN. Will they put forth an effort to accomplish that objective? We would like to assist in anyway possible, but we would like to establish priorities as to what could be done and what should be done at the earliest possible time, and this is something that takes considerable time to accomplish. At the same time, if we don't start doing something about it now, it will never be accomplished. All of your goals have been for better education, with which we certainly agree. You have brought out some matters which I am concerned about. For instance, in your 14th point, you said some of the members of the 12th grade graduating class did not receive their diplomas because they did not want to appear. Can't they still get their diplomas?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). I am sure they could.

Senator FANNIN. In other words in spite of the fact that they didn't appear, the diplomas should be available to them, would they not?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). It should be.

Senator FANNIN. Another problem I see, in the main part of the testimony, "They direct all of our children to go to school, but sometimes they do not want to go to school because they would get whipped if they don't make a passing grade or fail a test." And then the next paragraph: "I found that a 6-year-old child's problems begin when he first starts to school. If a child does not comprehend directions given by his teacher, he is punished with the paddle." Is that a common occurrence?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting.) Quite a bit.

Senator FANNIN. You are speaking of the public schools, not the BIA schools?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). Country schools, more or less.

Senator FANNIN. Public?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). Country schools.

Senator FANNIN. The country schools?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). Yes.

Senator FANNIN. They are public schools?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). Yes.

Senator FANNIN. In the country?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). Yes, grades 1 through 8.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How are they punished, the children?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). Well, mostly by paddle. In some incidents in country schools, why, they were hit with a hand, the teacher's hand, and some teachers used pencils and hit them on the top of their heads, or with a ruler.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. And this is a common occurrence? She testified this is a common occurrence? A lot of the parents complained that their children were hit with paddles?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). They have. Those are the statements the Cherokees made when she made the research.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Anything beyond that?

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). You mean in punishing the child?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Yes.

Mr. PROCTOR (interpreting). Well, that's all she can say right now.

Senator FANNIN. It's been very helpful. I think you brought out that the greatest goal, I think, is that we must have is to break down this language barrier in order that they can communicate, and this would help both the student and the parents. Thank you very much.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you. Do you have anything else to add?

Mr. PROCTOR. Nothing.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You did very well. Thank you very much.

Now, we have a panel consisting of Mr. Jerry Manus, Mr. Jackson McLain, and Mr. Jerry Standingwater.

STATEMENT OF JERRY MANUS, REPRESENTATIVE, CHEROKEE NATION; JACKSON McLAIN, CHEROKEE REPRESENTATIVE, BULL HOLLOW, OKLA.; AND JERRY STANDINGWATER, CHEROKEE REPRESENTATIVE, SALINA, OKLA.; COMPRISING A PANEL

Mr. STANDINGWATER. Senator Kennedy and Senator Fannin.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you identify yourself?

Mr. STANDINGWATER. Jerry Standingwater.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What is your position?

Mr. STANDINGWATER. I am representing the Cherokee Indians around the Salina community.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. For whom do you work?

Mr. STANDINGWATER. Pardon?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. For whom do you work?

Mr. STANDINGWATER. I work for the Cherokee Nation.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How long have you been working for them?

Mr. STANDINGWATER. Since the 22d of last March.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What did you do prior to that time?

Mr. STANDINGWATER. I was disabled with arthritis.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you identify yourself?

Mr. MANUS. I am Jerry Manus.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Whom do you work for?

Mr. MANUS. For the Cherokee Nation as a representative. We have been there for a year now.

48

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What were you doing prior to that time?

Mr. MANUS. I was employed in the city public schools, and am now self-employed in a service station.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How long were you in the city public schools?

Mr. MANUS. Approximately 2 years.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What did you do prior to that?

Mr. MANUS. I was in Massachusetts.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What were you doing there?

Mr. MANUS. Beg your pardon?

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What were you doing in Massachusetts?

Mr. MANUS. Working for Raytheon Electronics in Andover, Mass.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you identify yourself?

Mr. MCLAIN. I am Jackson McLain. I represent the Indian community of Bull Hollow.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How long have you represented them?

Mr. MCLAIN. Since November.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you proceed? Do you have a statement?

Mr. MANUS. Yes, sir, I have.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you like to read it?

Mr. MANUS. We have listed here approximately five problems that we would like to bring out at this time. To begin with, No. 1 is the need for small schools to be closed because of inadequate maintenance of buildings and school grounds. Also, we would like to see them closed because the larger schools have more to offer in the classrooms. And by this we mean they have more teacher time.

No. 2, the schools also need more vocational training in such things as carpentry, welding, and agriculture. We have some of these or a small part of the above mentioned things now, but we need more, for the number of Indian children in public schools is ever increasing. I might also add at this time that only in some senior high schools do we have these vocations added to the curriculum, and in the school area of the Indians I represent, we have one teacher who teaches carpentry to only 38 students. We in that area would like to see more vocational teachers added to their staff.

We have two agricultural teachers in our system there at Stilwell. Now, they will take approximately 60 students between the two teachers. We have a welding shop, but we don't have any welding teacher other than the two agricultural teachers. So we have to split this up; and this is one of our needs.

We would like to see more Indian coordinators in the public schools. By this we mean Indian counselors for the Indian children. At the present time, again, we only have two to take care of approximately four counties, and we feel that if we had more Indian counselors in these public schools, our dropout rate would be less because, as brought out before, of the language barrier. An Indian counselor could come to this student in the school and have access to the records of the student and see the grade level that he is in, that he is falling below, and have a talk with this gentleman and possibly pick up his grade. It has worked out before with Mr. Tommy Ray Morton, who is our Indian coordinator for our area. It has been proven that it works out satisfactorily.

The fourth problem that we have is we also need some more summer activity funds for the Indian children who live in rural areas who have no access to the summer program being offered at our public schools in the cities or in the towns. And at the present time I would also like to add that we have in process a summer ball park or a baseball park that is being built and in the rural areas approximately 13 to 14 miles from the city; and this will solve part of our problems of finding activities creating interest.

And the fifth thing we would like to add on here is our lunch program. The Indian children who attend the Stilwell school receive 16½ cents a day for each child to feed them. We feel that the cost of living is going up, and the cost of groceries is getting higher. We would like to see that raised; possibly even a 4-cent raise would give us enough money to provide food for them adequately.

These are some of the questions that we have listed. These are the five we have come up with while meeting together.

Now, we have a statement here that I would like to read to you. Now that we have told of a few problems that are before us, we would like to say that we are trying to do something about them. By this, we mean that we have started to organize the Indians by communities so we can present these problems to them. I would like also to say at this time that we have good Indian participation among our people. They will and can solve some of these problems that we have listed above, by meeting together and using the office of Mr. Ralph Keen, who is the Cherokee tribal business manager and our main communication between the Chief, Mr. Keeler, and his people. In the past we only had the BIA to depend on for our communication, and now we have Mr. Keen, who has his office and his records open to any one of these communities which has a duly elected representative, and come and examine his records at any time and go back and tell our people in our area what we are doing with the tribal money.

Since we have organized, we would like to point out some of the things that have been accomplished by our organization. We have in Adair County the oldest of the communities to be organized, and we would like to show what we can do, or what we have done for the Cherokee Nation. We have, for one thing, paved some rural roads, which used to be a problem for school buses and the children who lived in these rural areas and had to get back and forth between schools. We have established a 2-days-a-week clinic for our people in the Stilwell area. This will lighten the load on the hospital at Tahlequah. In times past, children of school age who were attending school had to leave school for 1 day, which enabled them to attend a school at Tahlequah for 4 days. And we have had this clinic in operation now, and for 2 days a week they can come for immediate medical attention. We have a dentist who comes here, and this will cut his day from 1 full day to half a day, so we feel that over a period of time 4½ days is better than 4.

We also have started an arts and crafts center for our older people. This is for the older members who wish to do something constructive in our community.

Now we take the problems of our dropouts. As it has been brought out, in the past we have dropped out between the 9th and 10th grades in Adair County. Now, we are going to offer adult classes through these community centers set up by our chief and by our business manager and by the people who live in these communities. We are going to set up adult classes so we can provide enough interest in our adults to make them understand that we must have an education to live in a modern world, or the world in which we now live.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How much money are you going to allocate for that?

Mr. MANUS. This will be decided by the community, and we will have to find out how much we will need, and we will see our tribal office for this, and if there are funds available, we will contact them, and this is not only, I might add, for just this small group, but for several groups in our area who will participate in this.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Have you set any money aside for it up to the present moment?

Mr. MANUS. No. We are not a profitmaking organization.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. There was testimony earlier by a number of individuals regarding opposition to some of the efforts which were made in the field of education, surveys which were being made to determine whether the deficiencies existed in the educational system. Do you know of anyone who would be opposed to what had been done in trying to obtain this information?

Mr. MANUS. No, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You do not?

Mr. MANUS. I do not.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Are you surprised to hear——

Mr. MANUS. Yes, sir, I was; I really was.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Had you ever heard it before?

Mr. MANUS. We have heard rumors, but never really coming face to face with these problems.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Have you heard of any of these people being called Communists because they were trying to——

Mr. MANUS. Yes. This is a different term used.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Different than what?

Mr. MANUS. Yes, different than—see, to fully understand this problem, to call somebody a Communist is easy to say, but to actually get the facts behind it is something else. We don't feel——

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I don't think you should be calling anyone a Communist, though, should you?

Mr. MANUS. Right. We didn't call anybody a Communist.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you know anybody who did call anyone a Communist?

Mr. MANUS. No, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Never heard that?

Mr. MANUS. No, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Then we will pass on.

Mr. MANUS. And in conclusion to this, we have covered but a small part of the problems which confront us. In closing I would like to say that we wanted to point out that we are trying as a tribe to solve our problems, and that the feeling of everyone we have contacted in our areas is one of being proud of our heritage and wanting to do something about it. Rather than depending on others to come and do it for us, we would like to solve our problems ourselves. I would like to see more Indian heritage taught in our schools. This is something that we are getting away from. And, after all, in closing I should say that Oklahoma means Home of the Red Man, and we would like to bring this out in our schools. And that is all I have prepared, gentlemen.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. That's fine. Do you have a statement? We are running a little bit behind, because we have 1 hour and 10 minutes now for four more witnesses. If you have any further information, you can put it in the record.

Senator FANNIN. I just want to ask one question. When you say "small schools closed," are you talking about grade schools or high schools?

Mr. MANUS. Yes.

Senator FANNIN. Grade schools?

Mr. MANUS. Yes. And I speak in our area through our Indian coordinator, as I say, Mr. Tom Ray Morton. He and I discussed this problem with small schools. Now, there are rural schools which are approximately 15 to 20 miles away from the larger schools. Now, the State has cut out the small schools.

Senator FANNIN. I can understand when you are talking about vocational schools, where you would not want to have just these one room schools, but when you get into distances, I was concerned about your desire to close small schools.

Mr. MANUS. We feel that the larger schools have more to offer.

Senator FANNIN. I realize that, too. Would it take away the opportunity of some of the children to get to school?

Mr. MANUS. Oh, no.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. How many small schools are there?

Mr. MANUS. At the present moment, there are very few. I don't know the exact number, but they have been closing for the last year in Adair County; for the last several years they have been closing down one by one and consolidating.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you know how many children there are in the small schools?

Mr. MANUS. Yes. They will run from anywhere from 6 to 20.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I mean altogether?

Mr. MANUS. I have no idea.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you know what the unemployment rate among the Indians is in Adair County?

Mr. MANUS. I would venture to say it was 80 percent.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. 80 percent?

Mr. MANUS. Yes. And I would like to say at this time, also, that we would wish at some time at a future date, if not immediately, to get the investigating committee to come to Adair County. This is something that we have talked about last Friday, and we feel that the people in Adair County we contacted feel that the people who are on this committee have bypassed Adair County, and we have never received any committee or anything at all, and we feel that we are actually the heart of the Cherokee Nation in northeast Oklahoma.

Mr. STANDINGWATER. Senator Kennedy, I would like to also say that Mayes County has been bypassed by a long shot on all of this. I would like to say that right now we need remodeling in our high school building there in Salina.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. We would like to go everywhere. We would like to go to every State and every county that has an Indian in it, but that, of course, is impossible, so we are doing the best we can. There is another committee of Congress that has primary jurisdiction over Indian affairs, and I would hope that they would inquire into some of these matters which are very, very serious, but we are doing the best we can to try to get around the country as much as possible. Our jurisdiction is a national one, and so we are trying to establish the facts as best we can in each one of these States. We would like to go to other places as well, but unfortunately our time is limited. But, I gather some of these other surveys were made in eastern Oklahoma regarding Indian affairs and some of them were not greeted with open arms, so I suppose that must be discouraging to some people. Thank you very much.

Mrs. Iola Hayden, executive director, Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity.

A VOICE. I would like to submit a document.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you have something?

A VOICE. We have two young people from Jones Academy who would like to give some of the positive things that are happening today.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. We have witnesses that are scheduled. In any case, I would be glad to keep the record open for 3 weeks, and anybody that has any statement that they want to submit, we will include it in the record.

I am delighted to see you.

Mrs. HAYDEN. Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. This is Mrs. Hayden, and this is the organization which was stimulated by the interest of Mrs. Harris who has been concerned about Indian Affairs and the welfare of the Indians and education and training of the Indians. I know how much she has done and the effect she and her husband have had here in Oklahoma, but also the tremendous effect that they have had around the rest of the country. I know the fine work that you have done, and I want to congratulate you, and I know Senator Fannin in the beginning made a statement about the importance of Senator Harris' participation, so we are delighted to have you.

STATEMENT OF MRS. IOLA HAYDEN, DIRECTOR, OKLAHOMANS FOR INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

Mrs. HAYDEN. I appreciate the opportunity to be able to testify, as I have noticed I am the only "wild Indian" who has testified among our "civilized" friends. I will not pretend to speak for all Indians, but I do represent OIO, an organization for Indians in Oklahoma, and we do know the education situation and feel quite strongly that we can offer some suggestions and some alternatives.

Because of the time factor, I would like to focus on what could be called one general problem area, the use, or misuse, depending on your point of view, of Federal funds in the area of education in regard to American Indians. I will give a few illustrations of the general nature of the problem and then attempt to move on to suggested alternatives.

The first situation which I would like to call to your attention concerns the transfer patterns of certain Indians. In just one school in one county in the State there are, according to August 1967 statistics, roughly 23 Indian students being picked up in town by two rural schoolteachers and transported to a country school. These Indian students comprise at least three-fourths of the entire enrollment in this particular school. In that same school district there are eight non-Indian students who are transported into the town schools. Statistics in this area are rather difficult to obtain as you might suspect, but to some of us it seems that Federal funds are being utilized to perpetuate inferior education for Indian students.

The second situation pertains to school lunch programs funded under the Johnson-O'Malley Act. I would like to describe a meal served at one of these rural schools on November 10, 1966: hamburger meat with gravy, boiled potatoes, green beans, rolls, jello with canned fruit, and one carton of milk. There was exactly 3 pounds of hamburger meat—this was verified by the cooks—for 67 people. There were no seconds allowed. Again, these are Federal funds.

I would now like to suggest a few alternative approaches to some of the present problems of education in regard to the American Indian. These suggestions are, of course, not original, and they are not new, but we feel like they have not yet been seriously considered by relevant policymaking organizations.

I strongly believe that schools with substantial numbers of Indian students should have representation on school boards. We have in the State at the present time one school which receives Federal funds under various titles—such as 874 funds, Johnson-O'Malley funds, and various titles under the Secondary Education Act—with a 100-percent Indian student enrollment and a three-man non-Indian school board. There are, of course, no Indian teachers in the school and there is no utilization of teacher aides at this particular school. There have been various estimates—but no concrete information—as to the dropout rates of Indian students leaving this particular school to go into a larger school system, but it is generally conceded that very few of these students graduate from high school. We realize that Indian representation on school boards and Indian teachers and teacher aides will not miraculously solve the problem of education which faces American Indian students today. However, we strongly feel that the involvement of such people is essential in a sound educational system. Another way which we feel that this subcommittee could serve the public interest would be to take a careful look at what I call, for a lack of a better term, the lack of quality controls on much of the Federal legislation dealing with education of American Indians. One of the most consistent issues throughout the history of Government relationships to Indians has been whether the Federal Government or the State and local governments shall have the authority to administer programs to Indians. At almost every turn, the Federal Government has yielded control of various programs dealing with Indians to the State and local level with few or no strings attached. I have already described very brefly the results of this policy in just two areas, that of school lunch programs and transportation of school students. I would suggest that if this subcommittee wants to get a clearer picture of the general situation it should send a competent, factfinding team to look at all aspects of the problem. Since Oklahoma does have the second largest Indian population in the country, and no reservations, it constitutes a somewhat unique and important aspect of education problems of the American Indian. In the meantime, however, I would like to briefly share with you some of the implications of Federal funding with few or no strings attached in terms of quality of education for Indian students.

Here are how some instances are described in this State. A Headstart program project director refused to hire teacher aides because, "There isn't anyone qualified around here and besides if one would get the job, the others in the neighborhood would be jealous." A school principal proudly states that he has an Indian committee determining eligibility for free school lunches and "they're" harder on the Indians than he is. Free lunches and other assistance should not be "hard" to get for anyone in need. A more sympathetic and humane attitude is needed for the already rejected individual.

Let me make it quite clear at this point that not all or even a majority of school personnel are guilty of such practices. It seems clear to me, however, that more quality controls are necessary in order to prevent situations such as those just described from occurring. Perhaps a more specific illustration will more clearly illuminate my concern. Recently a bilingual education bill was passed in Washington, D.C. Section 705(a) of this bill states:

> A grant under this title may be made to a local educational agency or agencies, or to an institution of higher education applying *jointly* with a local education agency, upon application to the commissioner at such time or times in such manner in containing or accompanied by such information as the commissioner deems necessary.

Recently at an education conference sponsored by OIO, an eastern Oklahoma public school administrator expressed grave concern for the future of America in response to the suggestion that perhaps English should be taught as a foreign language in certain sections of eastern Oklahoma. In spite of the fact that this gentleman's area is probably the largest non-English and/or bilingual speech areas in the State, he blindly insisted that only "American" be taught in schools. Some of us Indians might want to raise an argument as to just exactly which language that would be. The utility or validity of a bilingual approach in the education of minority groups, of people who speak a language other than that of the dominant group, should, even in the United States, be a dead issue. Unfortunately, in those areas where such teaching is most needed it is often rejected.

Within the past few months a school principal refused to accept books about Indians which our organization distributes, apparently on the grounds that they were subversive. Some of the title of these apparently subversive books are: "The Osages," "The Cherokees," "The Kiowas," and "The Seminoles."

Some of the information on educational problems, particularly linguistic problems, as I am sure this subcommittee is well aware, and that this subcommittee has received, has been obtained from social scientists and foundation projects which are regarded by many local people, educators among them, in all probability, as being somewhat subversive—which usually means to them any change in status quo.

In light of the above very brief description, we feel that if educational problems of American Indians are going to be successfully resolved there is going to have to be carefully drawn legislation to eliminate practices such as those described above; and to avoid the situation of State and local education authorities preventing the implementation of Federal legislation such as the Bilingual Education Act.

In addition, we feel that Federal funding agencies should build in a consumer-oriented component whose duties and responsibilities would be explained to all related State and local agencies and to the general public.

Neither of these suggestions is particularly new or radical. As Daniel Moynihan, among others, has stated:

> Driver licensing, traffic laws, emergency medical services, driver training, all these previously exclusive State concerns fell under Federal control. It was surely the largest single transfer of authority from the State to the Federal level of this generation, indeed one of the largest in Americn history * * *.

We feel, and we hope this subcommittee feels, that we have had enough demonstration schools, educational studies, research project, etc., to provide us with enough general information to greatly improve the education of American Indian students. The central question to us is if the Federal Government is going to assume the responsibility of seeing that what we already know is competently implemented.

The second suggestion about utilizing consumer-oriented personnel is, of course, in wide use by various business concerns and governmental agencies although perhaps not quite so openly as suggested here.

We also feel that the Federal Government through this subcommittee, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the other governmental agencies, could encourage book companies to produce textbooks a little less slanted in favor of the white eyes and perhaps a little more historically accurate. They should also be encouraged to provide current literature on American Indians.

We feel that those teachers who are teaching in schools with substantial numbers of Indian students should receive special training in regard to the behavior patterns of the people they will be teaching. We further feel that federally funded programs should require mechanisms to be established where prejudicial treatment of students would result in public hearings, and if proven, make provisions for such staff to be reassigned to other schools. In other words we want a reversal; for a change we would like to have the best teachers. We would also like to see the scholarship program for Indian students through the Bureau of Indian Affairs be expanded to meet the demand. As far as we know, there is no valid information concerning the number of qualified and eligible Indian students for the available scholarships. The Bureau openly admits, however, that the number of scholarships has never kept up with the demand. Surely this society's experience with the GI bill, in terms of economic benefits alone makes the expansion of the scholarship program, both in terms of numbers and reduction of restrictions, mandatory.

Also, we would like to ask for some assistance from the subcommittee in obtaining various materials relating to Indians in order that they could be utilized for various educational purposes. There have been a small number of television productions dealing with Indians which incredibly to some of us, has treated Indians sympathetically. One of our staff members naively assumed that since the three major networks were utilizing public property, we as a nonprofit organization could obtain these films for educational purposes. We were informed by one network that they kept no history of such films, another network informed us in response to a specific request that no prints were available for preview, but if we wanted to purchase the film, sight unseen, we were free to do so. The third network cited legal difficulties in releasing some of the films, but they would let us know when they got the problem worked out. That was in October 1967. We feel that such behavior on the part of the three major networks is slightly incredible and suggests that this subcommittee could greatly serve the public interest if they could persuade the networks to catalog their materials on Indians and make them available to educational and nonprofit organizations on a loan basis.

Finally, I would like to say to this subcommittee, Indian people all over this country are waiting to see what the Great White Father is going to do about improving the education of the American Indian. Our ancestors waited before us. I would suggest that it is the responsibility of this subcommittee to educate its Members in Congress and the general public. That the present situation is an economic liability which this society, Indians and non-Indians, can no longer afford. I would further suggest that there are rather large numbers of people in other countries, the majority being nonwhite, who are quietly observing American Indians—among the other minority groups—to see how they fare in a democratic society. We are all waiting.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Very good. This has indicated quite clearly why your organization is so effective, and how you accomplish so much in such a short period of time. It shows great dedication and great compassion for the understanding of the problem. We are very grateful.

Senator FANNIN. I think that we all agree that there is a great deal to be done. Don't you agree that this must be done together? In other words, working together, that it's not going to be done by Government; it's going to be done by the people, local, State, Federal?

Mrs. HAYDEN. Right.

Senator FANNIN. A coordinated program?

Mrs. HAYDEN. This is why we think that Indian people should be on the school boards; and many times it's not going to be accomplished, you know, through elections, because most Indian people in these particular areas are not middle class, and your problem-solving techniques are middle-class concepts; and we are trying to teach them problem-solving techniques, but they haven't learned them yet; so this is why we have to say we must have representation on various boards of directors, and this is where the subcommittee can help with suggestions as far as making it mandatory in some areas.

Senator FANNIN. Yes; I agree. The motivation must come from the Indian people, in addition to the work that is being done by any committee or any group.

Mrs. HAYDEN. Right.

Senator FANNIN. So we must hope that we all have an understanding, that it's a coordinated effort which will accomplish the objectives which we have.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Let me just say I am appalled that you bring up once the fact you made an effort to try to utilize some of these books with the various tribes and were turned down because of the charge of their being subversive or being Communist. It seems to me that there are obviously changes which have to be made, and these are the most fundamental kinds of changes, the kinds of changes which have been made in other sections of the United States, and they are overdue here as they are overdue elsewhere as well. I am not criticizing any particular section, because it's a national problem; but what you are trying to do is obviously what needs to be done all across the country. I am appalled that people would use those terms of great unpleasantness, to say the least, in describing the actions and activities of you and others.

Mrs. **Hayden**. It really doesn't make too much difference.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. If we could just remove that aspect of it, say, the people who are trying to bring about changes—I don't think there is anything, for instance, that you said that Senator Fannin would disagree with or that I would disagree with——

Mrs. **Hayden**. They are not radical at all.

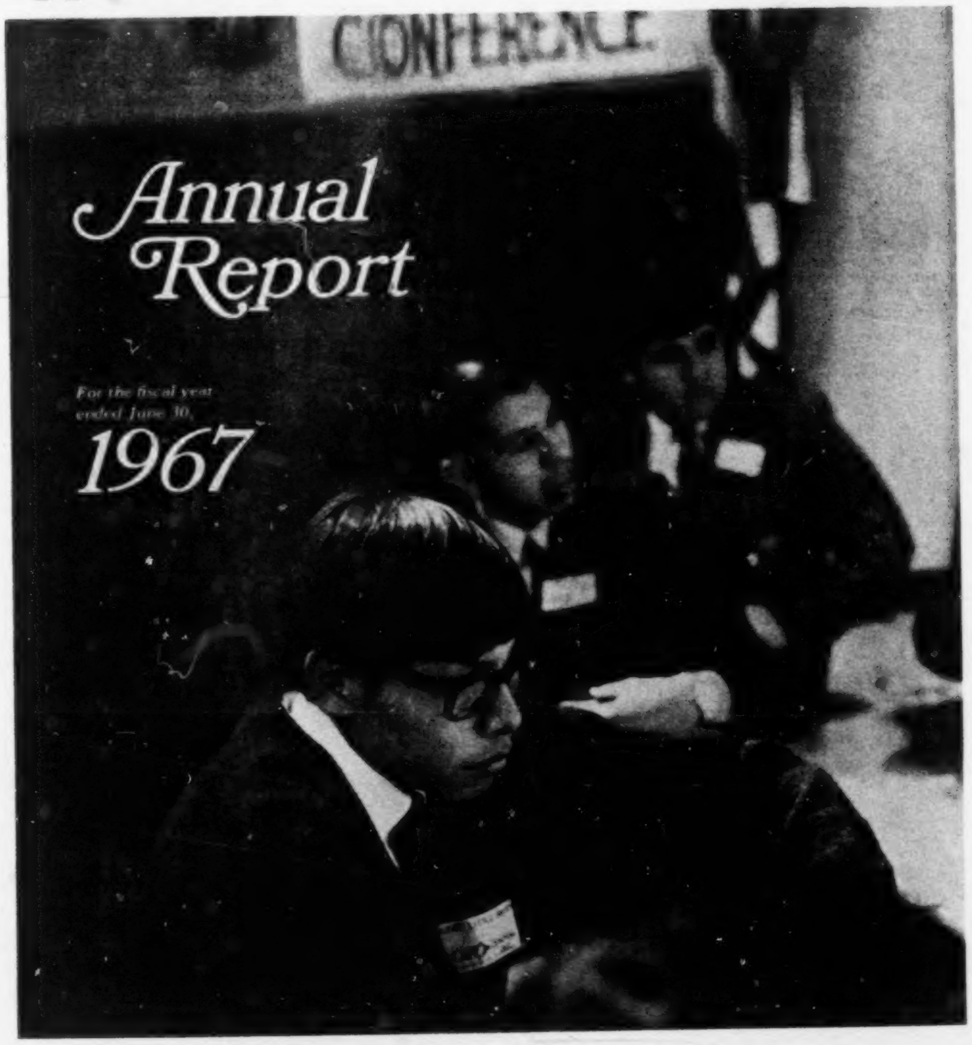
Senator **Kennedy** of New York (continuing). That says either one of us are members of subversive organizations, but are Members of the U.S. Senate. This kind of change has to take place, because the educational system is obviously unsatisfactory—and all we have to do is look at the children in the schools—and I can see it's unsatisfactory. One only looks at the fact that the unemployment rate, as somebody described it, is 80 percent, to know that it's unsatisfactory, look at the history of the Cherokees to know that we could do much better and that the Indians could do far better, and it's really important and a great reflection on all of us who had any responsibility in this field that we haven't done better. It's a grave reflection. As you said at the end of your statement, it's about time this is not considered just an Indian problem. This is a white man's problem, because we haven't done what we should have done. And I think that your organization, the effort that you are making and the effort that some of these other gentlemen are making, are trying to awaken our consciences as to what needs to be done in this country and what needs to be done in Oklahoma and what needs to be done to try to remedy a very, very, bad situation and a grave, grave injustice to many of our citizens, and to try to bring some changes which should be welcomed by the authorities and by the power structure. However one might describe it, the changes should be welcomed, because it's unsatisfactory at the moment. Changes should be welcomed and certainly not opposed on the basis of a person being a Communist because he wants to read a book about Indians. You know, somebody said every time you have a fight between the Indians and the white man, if the white man wins it's a victory and if the Indian wins it's a massacre. I remember that President Kennedy was made an honorary Indian on one occasion, and then he said from now on as he looked at television, he was going to cheer for the other side. I think we should start cheering a little bit for the other side.

Mrs. **Hayden**. I would like to submit for the record a copy of our 1967 annual report.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. We will accept it and it will be printed in the record.

(The publication referred to follows:)

Oklahomans
for Indian
Opportunity


CONFERENCE

Annual Report

For the fiscal year
ended June 30,

1967

From the Director

Mrs. Iola Taylor assumed the responsibilities of OIO director in September, 1966. She heads a staff of 14 employees and 17 VISTA Volunteers.

Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity has just completed its first year of operation. Work during the year falls into three general categories: problem identification, staff training, and problem solving.

OIO was organized as a non-profit educational corporation in keeping with a resolution passed at a day-long conference of Indians and non-Indians interested in "doing something" about the Indian situation. This was August 1965. The first money for the operation of OIO came from a consortium at the University of Utah. In July, 1966, funding for an entire year's activities was received in a training grant from the Office of Training & Technical Assistance, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity.

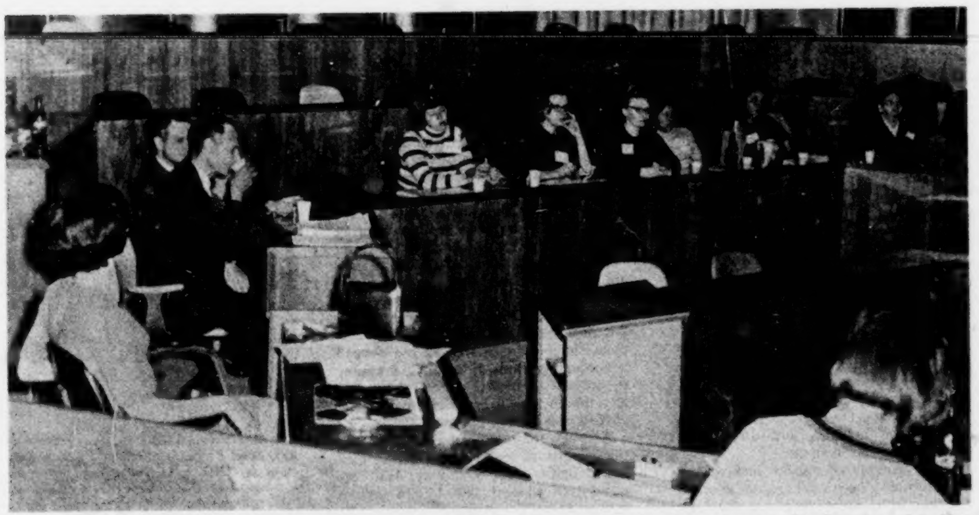
Problem identification was necessary to receive OEO funding and plan effective programs. The facts were and are not pleasant. For example, the Indian dies at 43, 20 years before the non-Indian. He lives on $30 a week, while the Negro in Watts earns $64. The average number of school years completed is 8.8 for the Indian; it is 11.2 for the non-Indian. Unemployment runs from 40 to 75 percent, depending upon the locale. Participation in local community programs is low and in many places non-existent. Attitudes of Indians and non-Indians alike have contributed to many Indians not becoming productive members of society. OIO programs have been designed to work with these problems.

Harold Cameron assumed the responsibilities of director in May, 1966. He began the task of hiring a staff and project initiation. However, in September, 1966, ill health brought about his resignation. At that time I was assistant director, and the Board of Directors felt my assuming the responsibilities of the director would make for a smooth transition in the program.

We proceeded immediately in filling staff positions. The full staff consists of the following positions: director, field coordinator for community development, field coordinator for work orientation, youth coordinator, assistant youth coordinator, 2 referral center directors, 6 assistant field coordinators and 2 secretaries. The referral center directors and the assistant field coordinators are Indian people and live in the areas they serve. Staff offices are at the University of Oklahoma, Norman.

Staff training has been a major function of the past year. We have used consultants from various fields to provide orientation for all phases of community work. Our three areas of major concentration have been community development, work orientation and youth activities. During the fall of 1966, much of our effort was centered on generating interest and enthusiasm for participation in OIO and the "learn by doing, do it yourself" approach. Working relationships were established with existing agencies and programs.

We are pleased with the cooperation we have received from the agencies working with Indians. The State Employment Service has assigned a full-time coordinator of Indian descent to recruit for the Neighborhood Youth Corps and to search out job vacancies and contact qualified Indians for these positions. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has established Employment Assistance Offices in Tulsa and Oklahoma City in full cooperation



Training sessions were held each month for OIO staff members and VISTA Volunteers. Sessions featured round table discussions of problems and techniques used in field work. Meetings took place at the Oklahoma Center for Continuing Education.

with OIO referral centers in these cities.

The Public Health Service has agreed to establish clinics in Hulbert, Cache, and other areas to improve services. Much of the improvement has come about through the selection of hospital advisory committees, composed of local Indian people who were identified through the efforts of the part-time field coordinators from OIO. Out-patient facilities are proposed for Oklahoma City and Tulsa. Residence, blood quantum, income and marriage requirements have been modified to expand eligibility for medical services.

OIO youth program workers believe real progress has been made with local school boards and school personnel in their awareness of the need to extend opportunities for participation and leadership to Indian youth. Community Action Agencies have become more aware of the problems which Indians face, and have worked extensively with our assistant field coordinators to involve Indians in CAP programs.

The challenge of OIO has gone beyond the boundaries of one organization. Our daily contacts convince us that new awareness and understanding of the Indian is replacing old stereotypes and attitudes held by non-Indians. Indians are becoming involved in community programs and in finding solutions by developing decision-making abilities. OIO believes the problems we work with are human problems. This past year has been a beginning. We anticipate expansion of our programs and services to reach more Indians and non-Indians alike. There is no yardstick for measuring the progress of human development. OIO's goal will continue to be working with human problems with new and innovative approaches.

Iola Taylor
Director
Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity

Community Development

The OIO community development program was designed to develop leadership among Indians for identification and solution of local problems. Seven areas of Oklahoma were identified and selected for project concentration. The field coordinator in charge of community development and six assistant field coordinators have served these areas in establishing local organization and providing referral service for individual problems. Assistant field coordinators live in the areas in which they serve.

A community council has been established in each of the seven areas, with a total membership of 63 Indians and non-Indians. Twenty-eight area meetings were held to explain the goals of Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity and to formulate plans for the specific areas.

Two general community involvement meetings have been held in each area for the purpose of identifying local problems and planning solutions. A total of 830 Indians was involved in these initial meetings. In addition, the assistant field coordinators have worked with civic groups and other interested organizations in telling the story of OIO.

Each assistant field coordinator has been provided with a tape recorder for compiling information, referral data and progress reports, submitted each month to the supervising field coordinator. Evaluation and future planning are based on these reports. Charts on this page indicate location of assistant field coordinators, total number of referrals, and subject of referrals.

In an effort to further the impact that OIO has had on the Indians of Oklahoma, the services of 17 VISTA Volunteers were secured for work in the seven target areas of community development. These Volunteers were under the supervision of the assistant field coordinator in their area.

In the Idabel area a child day-care center has been established for 20 children. In addition, a summer recreation program for out-of-school youth, a program of training for secretarial schools, and an adult education tutoring program have been established in conjunction with the local CAP agency.

The Canton and Ponca City VISTA Volunteers have developed a tutoring program and a youth recreation program.

In the Cache area, a sanitation program has been organized, a community clean-up was held and some tutorial help was provided through the cooperation of the local school system. The VISTA Volunteer in the Anadarko area has worked in conjunction with the local CAP agency in providing referral service and acting as a linking agent between local Indian citizens and CAP programs.

Through the month of April, observation reports of the field coordinator estimated that VISTA Volunteers had contacted and worked with 12,024 Indians in their respective areas.

Rev. Scott Bread, left, assistant field coordinator for OIO, talks with a resident of the Tahlequah area. Assistant field coordinators personally contact local citizens to determine the needs of a specific family or community.

John Brown, second from right, VISTA Volunteer from Michigan, and Gayle Cable, right, assistant field coordinator, discuss a sanitation program with a Cache family. VISTA Volunteers work with OIO's Community Development program and under the supervision of the assistant field coordinator in their area.

Number of Referrals

Employment was the major problem with which assistant field coordinators worked. Often other problems could be related to the low economic level of a family.

Subject of Referrals

The number of individuals reached by OIO has increased each month. Figures are based on observation reports of the Field Coordinator, monthly reports from assistant field coordinators and individual referral sheets.

Location of Staff

OIO assistant field coordinators are located in six areas of high Indian population. VISTA Volunteers are in these areas under the supervision of the assistant field coordinator. Located in Norman, the Field Coordinator for Community Development supervises the assistant field coordinators and VISTA Volunteers.

Youth Activities

Senator Robert F. Kennedy was the keynote speaker for the first Statewide Youth Conference. Over 1000 Indian and non-Indian young people attended the day-long conference on the University of Oklahoma campus.

Mrs. Fred R. Harris, president of OIO, presents one of the essay contest awards at the noon luncheon for the Statewide Youth Conference. OIO presented awards to 12 contest winners.

The OIO youth program has concentrated on providing organization and leadership opportunities for Indian young people in grades 7-12. Sixty target schools were selected on the basis of Indian enrollment. The youth coordinator and assistant youth coordinators contacted an average of three administrators per school to explain proposed OIO programs and seek their cooperation with the youth program.

As an introduction to the OIO youth program, six area conferences were held with representatives from all 60 target schools. Over 1700 students participated. An additional 300 students acted as leaders and aides for the meetings. OIO goals and plans were explained and discussion groups dealt with a series of problems relevant to young people. The total number of training hours for these meetings was 12,400.

After the initial area meetings, the youth coordinator and assistants began the task of establishing local organization. The concept of the youth council was develped to provide a permanent functioning body in the community with which students might identify.

During the first year, 34 councils have begun operation with 155 students serving as council representatives. The first function of these councils was the preparation of an assembly program to present in their respective schools. To date, 24 schools have had assembly programs involving a total of 350 students.

To prepare Indian young people for leadership responsibility, training programs have been conducted for approximately 650 students. One-day workshops have been held for each of the 34 youth councils. College students representing 12 state institutions have been trained for youth conference leadership, and 135 high school students were trained as aides for Indian Achievement Week and the Statewide Youth Conference. The estimated number of training hours involved was 6090.

The youth program sponsored a statewide essay contest with a subject of "My Responsibility to My Community." Two hundred fifty-three entrants competed for six Indian and six non-indian awards. A plaque and $25.00 check were presented to each winner at the Statewide Youth Conference.

OIO participated with the Oklahoma Arts and Humanities Council and the Center for Arts of Indian America in a statewide talent search. Applications were distributed to students interested in scholarships in the fine arts. OIO and the Oklahoma Arts & Humanities Council are working to secure information and scholarship money for these students.

The Statewide Youth Conference held March 14 was the climax to the year's activities. Over 1000 students came to the University of Oklahoma for the day-long conference highlighted by the appearance of Senator Robert F. Kennedy as the main speaker. An awards luncheon recognizing essay winner and youth council members was followed by an afternoon of discussion groups. The conference drew representatives from forty schools with 60 students acting as leaders and aides. The total number of training hours was 5160.

Work Orientation

In response to the problem of high unemployment among Indian young people, OIO designed its work orientation program to combine on-the-job training with extensive adjustment counseling for the job trainee.

OIO opened its first work orientation project in Anadarko. The field coordinator in charge of work orientation contacted 33 employers in locating jobs for the 20 trainees.

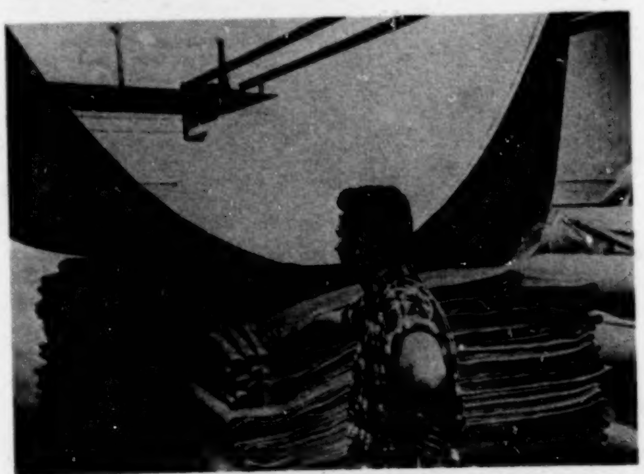
The first week of the 13-week program was devoted to introductory training in such subjects as finances, budgeting, employer-employee relations, dress and grooming. During the 12 weeks of on-the-job training OIO paid 75 cents of the trainee's hourly wage plus providing three hours each week of additional counsel and aid with orientation and adjustment. Six consultants provided 1320 training hours for participants.

Programs in action include 15 trainees in Shawnee with 12 consultants, and 40 trainees in Tulsa with 15 consultants. In Tulsa a steering committee composed of four employers and one attorney have been instrumental in employer-trainee contacts.

The OIO field coordinator matches workers' interests with job availabilities. Trainees have worked as clerks, hairdressers, welders, plumbers, and in many other occupations. At the end of the 13-week training period, the employer has the opportunity to hire a worker who has been trained under his supervision. Should the trainee prove unsatisfactory, the employer is under no obligation to continue his services.

Response from employers and trainees has been favorable, indicating desirability of expanded activities for the coming year.

Trainees work in a variety of occupations. Job availabilities and worker's interests are considered in placing trainees with participating employers.



OIO's work orientation program allows the worker to gain on-the-job skills while receiving personal counseling designed to aid adjustment to the work situation.

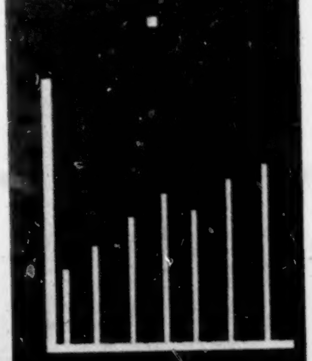
Referral Centers

During the 1966 operating year, urban referral centers have been established in Oklahoma City and Tulsa. The purpose of the referral service is to acquaint Indian residents of the Oklahoma City and Tulsa areas with the various social, health and employment services available to them. The centers were co-sponsored by the Oklahoma City and Tulsa Community Relations Commissions, and each center has been staffed by a referral director who is a part-time employee of OIO. The offices have served as clearing houses for information about needs of and resources for Indians. The Tulsa center, beginning operation in October, reported a total of 945 referrals through April. The Oklahoma City center, opening in November, reported 874 referrals through April. The numerical breakdown and subject of these referrals are outlined in charts on this page.

Mrs. Jean Edwards, Oklahoma City referral center director, records information from two young men seeking employment

Number of Referrals

Helping to avoid confusion in what can be a maze of services and regulations, OIO-sponsored referral centers direct Indian residents of Oklahoma City and Tulsa urban centers to social service agencies.



Subject of Referrals

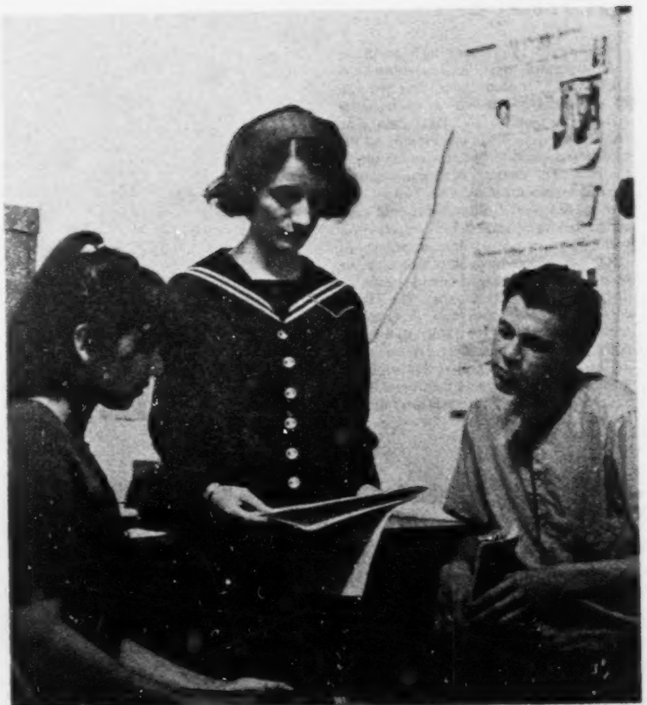
Employment was the primary subject of referrals. The percentage of unemployment and underemployment increased for urban areas as compared to rural sections.

Project Peace Pipe

Project Peace Pipe has been developed by OIO as a pre-training program for Indians who wish to become Peace Corps Volunteers in Latin America. The project is aimed at providing extra preparation for Indians interested in working with other Indians through the Peace Corps.

Recruitment was organized and sponsored by OIO, the Peace Corps and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. During March, April and May, the OIO Youth Director, accompanied by a team of Peace Corps recruiters traveled in Oklahoma, Kansas, New Mexico and Arizona distributing information and taking applications for the project. A college degree was not necessary. Applicants had to be 18 years of age or older, an American Indian, and free of dependents under 18. From a total of 50 applicants, thirty were selected to participate in the training program.

The thirty trainees will come to Norman, Oklahoma, for an OIO-sponsored instructional program which will run for five weeks beginning June 12, 1967. Course work in Spanish, writing, public speaking, and other subjects will be aimed at preparing participants for the Peace Corps training program. Project Peace Pipe trainees will enter Peace Corps training in the fall. Volunteers completing Peace Corps training will be assigned to work with Indians in Latin America.



Toi MacKethan, second from right, explains Project Peace Pipe to interested young people. The recruiting-training program is the first joint venture for the Peace Corps and OIO.

General Activities

During the week of Oct. 9-15, OIO sponsored Indian Achievement Week. Activities in local communities, television interviews and press conferences were a prelude to the Oct. 15 conference held on th University of Oklahoma campus. Over 100 Indians and non-Indians participated in planning the event.

John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare gave the principal address to a luncheon gathering of 750. Achievement awards were presented to six Indian and non-Indian adults, and two hundred dollar scholarships were presented to an outstanding Indian boy and girl.

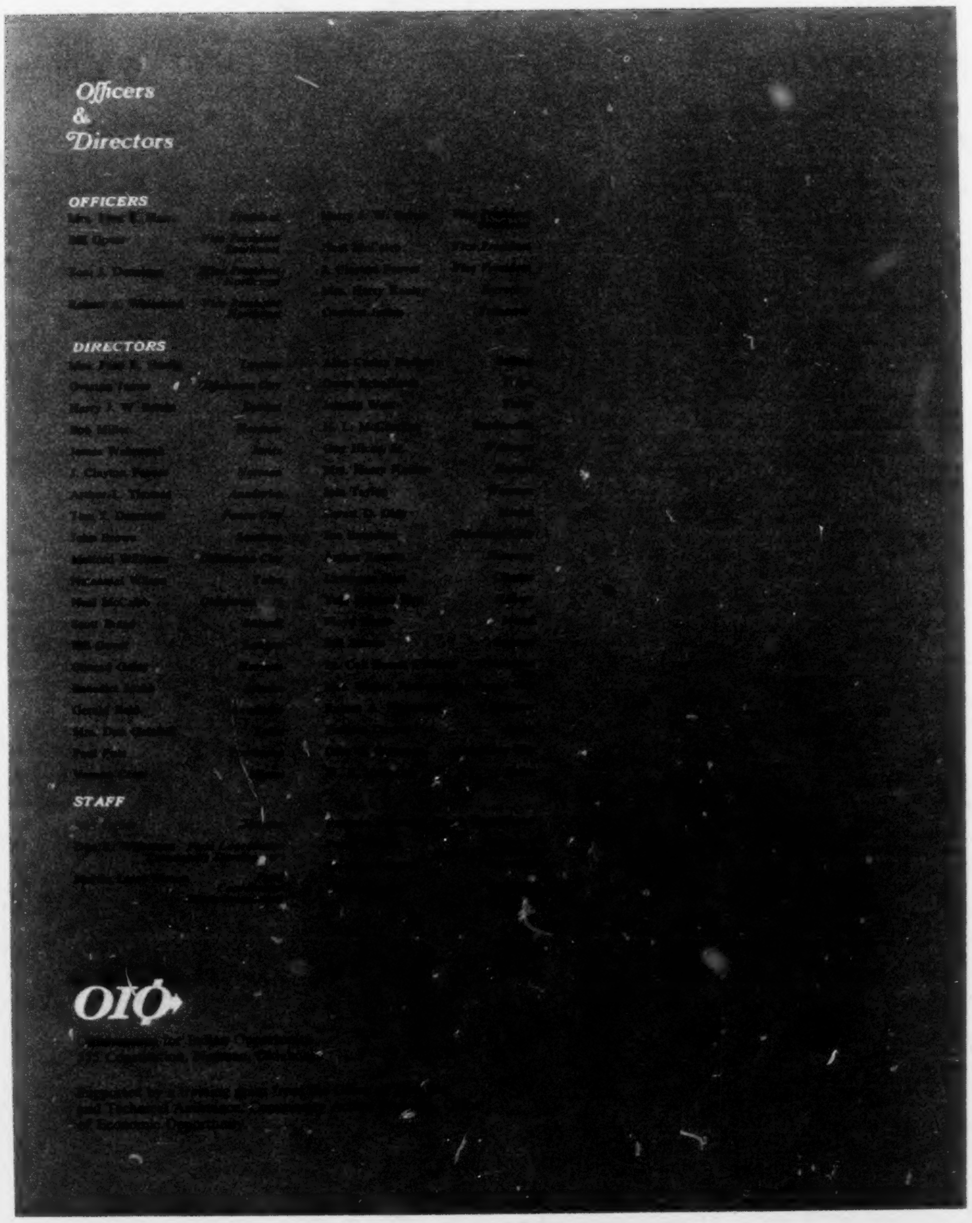
Wewoka, Oklahoma, received the community award for its involvement of Indians in total community living. The annual business meeting and educational forums yielded a total of 5970 training hours for the conference.

In order to keep some 2000 members, organizations and interested individuals informed of OIO activities, a monthly newsletter was distributed during 16 months of the 1966-67 funding period. Over 26,000 copies of brochures, mailers, and posters were distributed to explain functions and general programs of OIO.

Sets of fiction and history books dealing with the heritage of the Indian were presented to 31 schools chosen on the basis of Indian population. A coloring book, depicting Indians of today in skilled and professional occupations, is in final stages of development. The book will be used in kindergartens, Head-Start programs, and other pre-school situations.

Regular training sessions are held each month for all OIO staff members. Training centers around techniques for accomplishing goals, community development project feasibility, and development of public relations. During the initial funding period seventeen training days resulted in the use of 65 instructional personnel for a total of 2652 training hours.

John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, gave the featured address to the first annual Indian Achievement Week conference. Held October 15, the conference hosted over 750 with the theme, "A New Day for Oklahoma Indians."



Officers & Directors

OFFICERS

[illegible]

DIRECTORS

[illegible]

STAFF

[illegible]

OIO

[illegible]

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Mr. Keen, you are the general business manager of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma; is that correct?

Mr. KEEN. Yes.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you have a statement?

Mr. KEEN. Yes; I have.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you like to read it?

STATEMENT OF RALPH KEEN, GENERAL BUSINESS MANAGER, CHEROKEE NATION OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. KEEN. Mr. Chairman, Senator Fannin, we of the Cherokee Nation, being so painfully aware of the severe needs of our people, not only in the field of education but in all phases of social and economic development, are grateful that this subcommittee has chosen to hold hearings in an effort to shed some light on the subject and formulate plans for alleviating some of the needs of our people.

We have hopes that, even after the controversy that has developed during the preparations for these hearings, worthwhile and meaningful suggestions will be brought out at this hearing and that we can proceed with the job at hand, namely, improving the educational systems that our Indian people must rely on to teach their young so that they can grow and learn and become the masters of their own destiny.

No doubt during this hearing, and others to be held in other places, many specific examples of failures, both in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and in public schools, will be brought to light. Some will be offered along with concrete suggestions on how to improve the situation. Others will be offered merely as gripes. Some improvements will be offered by parents whose only hope is that their children will be better equipped to cope with the problems of the future, while others will be made by professional researchers. Most of these professional researchers will truly have the best interest of the Indian people at heart, while others will be bent on gaining recognition for their work regardless of the effect that they may have on the future of Indian education.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Has that been done at all up to the present time? There has been such research conducted?

Mr. KEEN. Yes; I believe that there has.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. By whom?

Mr. KEEN. By some of the groups that have been discussed here today. They operated under two or three different names; the Carnegie Cross Cultural Study.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Is that the one that is run by the Carnegie Foundation?

Mr. KEEN. Yes.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. And you say that they are bent on gaining recognition for their works regardless of the effect that they may have on the future of Indian education?

Mr. KEEN. Yes; I think so.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Can I just ask you: What do they suggest that was adverse to Indian education?

Mr. KEEN. Sir, it's really not what they suggest, because we of the Cherokee Nation have never seen the report.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What is it——

Mr. Keen. It's the manner in which they operate and the other things that they do on the side in the guise of conducting some sort of a survey.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. For example?

Mr. Keen. It's the people that they employ, the personal habits of the people that they employ, the manner in which they work.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. That is the Carnegie Foundation, of course, which is one of the most respected foundations?

Mr. Keen. Well, not the Carnegie Foundation. I am talking about as it affects us here locally in eastern Oklahoma, those people.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do they make any suggestions or recommendations with which you disagree?

Mr. Keen. Today is my first experience at hearing any suggestions they made.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What was that?

Mr. Keen. This is my first experience at hearing any concrete suggestion.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Had you ever read their report?

Mr. Keen. No.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Why was that?

Mr. Keen. It had never been made available.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Did you ever try to obtain it?

Mr. Keen. No. Whom do you see? Do you go to Carnegie Foundation?

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I suppose you can write. Can't you write them?

Mr. Doublehead. It's been published. It has been out.

Mr. Keen. I have that report.

Mr. Doublehead. The final will probably be out in another year or so.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Is there any disagreement that you have with this interim report?

Mr. Keen. No; I have no disagreement with that. I do have disagreement with the manner in which they work, with the people they hire, with the effect they have on the total community and with the fact that out of all of these so-called good, worthwhile educational research projects that are going on, they are all linked back to one university in the Midwest, not in this State. This is very repugnant to some of our people to know that one person in some distant State, without ever being here, can control the lives of our people.

Senator **Fannin.** Mr. Keen, do you mean that they have been irresponsible in their reporting, or in the actions that have been taken?

Mr. Keen. General actions, sir. In their reporting, no one ever sees the report. We see certain newspapers that are being published. We see newspapers—we don't understand all they say because they print them in Cherokee, and not very many people read Cherokee nowadays. We do see such things in the newspapers, in one of the latest editions, I believe it was the December edition, they poked fun at the travel operations to the extent that they had a small for sale ad in their paper, of one slightly used restaurant sign, cost $40,000. Now the sale is cheap, $5, which implies that we have in some way, shape or form misused $40,000 for a restaurant sign that now is no good to anyone. We have never spent a penny on a restaurant sign.

Senator FANNIN. You say they have been misrepresenting the facts?

Mr. KEEN. Yes; this is true.

Senator FANNIN. And you are going to bring that out in your testimony?

Mr. KEEN. No, sir; I am not. I am going to bring out in my testimony some suggestions on how to improve Indian education.

Senator FANNIN. Fine.

Mr. KEEN. We are confident that this subcommittee will be discreet, and that in the end the cure will not be more painful than the disease.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I don't know what you mean by discreet. What do you mean by discreet?

Mr. KEEN. I hesitated using that word. Maybe I chose the wrong word, but I hope that you will be able to weigh the facts and to make a decision that will not hurt the Indian people in the long run.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I don't think there can be any question about that; otherwise we wouldn't be making this effort. I don't know what you mean by the word discreet or how you use it there. On hearings around the country—we have been to Idaho, we have been to California. We are going to other states to try to find out what the problems are.

Mr. KEEN. I am making reference now—I don't want to turn this into a brawl.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You won't, I will assure you of that.

Mr. KEEN. I want this to be a constructive effort, but I will, in order to answer your question, say that you are hearing testimony today from approximately eight people, three or four of whom have worked directly for or in sympathy with the philosophies of this person in the Midwest at a different university.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Shouldn't we examine what they said? Is there anything that they said or testified to that you disagree with, or that you foresee a problem with?

Mr. KEEN. No, sir. I think we have many highly qualified Indian people who live around here who do not work for that professor who could give the same testimony had they been given a chance.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. We are listening to you and we are listening to a number of others, and we are listening to large numbers of witnesses, and I think the question is whether they have given, these who have testified at the present time, any testimony with which you disagree or which is subversive or communistic.

Mr. KEEN. I made the statement—I used the word Communist the other day; if I remember right, I said I have never known a Communist. I am not calling those people Communists.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You are not calling whom a Communist?

Mr. KEEN. Whoever we are talking about.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. That's the problem, I think. Go ahead, please.

Mr. KEEN. I am not one of those who goes around calling people Communists.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I don't think that's the way to deal with these matters, but go ahead. Continue with your testimony.

Mr. KEEN. It is very difficult to separate the education ills of the Indians from the many ills that have plagued our people for generations. It is my belief that the battle to improve the conditions of American Indians must be fought on many fronts simultaneously. We cannot improve the educational level of Indians without also improving the social and economic conditions as well. For this reason, I would like to enter into the records of this hearing a paper prepared by Dr. Herbert E. Striner, director of program development, W. E Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, entitled "Towards a Fundamental Program for the Training, Employment and Economic Equality of the American Indian."

I cannot claim that I am a friend of Mr. Striner, never having met him, but after studying this paper I can only say that I wish that I could have written it myself.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Who is Dr. Striner? Is he a man from Oklahoma?

Mr. KEEN. No, he is not.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Where is he from?

Mr. KEEN. I am not sure where his home is, but he has an office in Washington, D.C. If you will recall, Senator, I said some would have the best interest of the Indian people at heart. Time does not permit me to read the entire paper, but I would like to summarize the section on education.

An immediate goal should be to make the Federally operated schools into a model system. It is tragic that a government which can build the most destructive military force ever known by mankind operates a nationwide school system that can at best be described as average, using anyone's standards. Likewise, it is also a shame that in this age of computers the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not have a single computer to keep up with the 50,000 students enrolled in the 254 schools around the country operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Steps should be taken to strengthen the teaching staffs.

The pupil-teacher ratio should be improved from the current 29 to 1 to the acceptable ratio of 15 to 1.

Teaching of English as a second language: In areas where language is a problem, the Bureau of Indian Affairs should quickly implement the now experimental concept of teaching English as a second language.

Early childhood education: The present policy is to start the educational process at age 6. There is now strong evidence that Indian children would benefit from learning experiences from the age 3.

Improved curriculum: The emphasis should be on making the Indian a partner in our society and not on making him a white middle class member of our society.

The elimination of boarding schools for grade school age children: There is something morally wrong with separating a small child from his family for months at a time. Efforts should be made to improve the educational systems near the home instead of spending huge sums to build an educational system away from home.

Guidance, counseling and mental health: Trained guidance counselors and school psychologists are much too scarce in Indian schools. Out of those who are available, too many think they are disciplinarians or policemen and that they are there to punish rather than to help.

Vocational education: At the present time vocational training available to Indians is limited to two types: the post-high school training offered, for example, at Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kan., and adult vocational training offered to Indians between the ages of 18 and 35 in regular private vocational training schools. Vocational education should be strengthened considerably by developing it along two lines. First, it should tie in directly with the basic, fundamental educational system. This type of fundamental education, however, must be considerably different from that which now exists in Bureau schools. Training in language and mathematical skills should relate directly to utilization in an actual commercial, industrial, or other type of business application.

The second type of vocational training should be that which provides for technical training institutes at the 13th and 14th grade levels.

University relationships: Relationships funded either through contracts or grants should be established with universities to stimulate and sustain their long-term interest in Indian education. Ideally, several universities should develop long-term relationships and interests in the educational problems of specific tribes to (*a*) help develop curriculum, reading, and teaching materials, (*b*) train teachers and guidance personnel, (*c*) do research, and (*d*) provide technical assistance.

Adult education: Special efforts should be made to use the federally operated Indian schools as centers for adult education, for example, arts and crafts programs, English teaching, literacy programs, community leadership and organization, and many other subjects should be considered.

Research and development: The federally operated Indian schools should be especially alert to promising innovations in educational techniques and technologies. The problem of improving the education of disadvantaged children is one of the major tasks faced by the Nation as a whole and by many underdeveloped countries. The federally operated Indian schools should lead the way in developing effective solutions for these problems. Thus, a major commitment to research and development is urged not as a frill, but as a basic need.

An all Indian school board should be established for each federally operated Indian school. The basic purposes of establishing such school boards would be: (1) to give Indian parents an important voice in shaping the educational experience of their children. This is a necessity for obtaining affrmative parental involvement, which in turn is essential for any school to operate effectively; (2) to stimulate use of the schools as centers for adult education and community development; (3) to ensure that the school administrators and teachers remain attuned to the attitudes and values of the local community they serve. Without such a board, the danger of school administrators being paternalistic and patronizing in their treatment of Indian parents will persist.

Establish a national advisory board on Indian education. Ideally, this should be a statutory board, but since it will take many months for Congress to consider and act on legislation, in the interim the Secretary of the Interior could establish a 12-member board, at least half of whom should be Indians. The others should be outstanding educators and private citizens with broad backgrounds in public affairs. The purposes of the board would be to (1) advise the Secretary and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on educational policies and programs for the federally operated Indian schools; (2) advise on policies and programs affecting the education of Indians in the State operated public schools. The board's concerns should cover the entire spectrum of the problems of Indian education. Secretariat service should be supplied by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Both the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Commissioner of Education should be ex officio members of the board.

The Commissioner of Education should have the U.S. Office of Education use its best efforts to help the States improve the quality of education offered to Indian children.

The Office of Education, if directed to do so, could use its resources and extensive relationships with the States to bring about substantial improvements in the quality of education now being provided to Indian children in the public schools.

And, finally, adult education and agriculture extension programs should be given additional emphasis with an expansion of funding.

This concludes my testimony, and I sincerely hope that my efforts at summarizing have not detracted materially from the intent of Dr. Striner's report. Further explanations of these suggestions are available in the report, and, of course, I will be more than happy to answer questions concerning my experiences and these recommendations.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I gather you support these recommendations, and this is not only Dr. Striner's report but also yours?

Mr. KEEN. Yes. I have been advocating these myself.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I think they are excellent ideas, and are very helpful to the committee. I want to express the appreciation of the committee to you for bringing them to our attention, because I think they make a great deal of sense, and I think if most of them were put into effect they would bring about a great improvement in the educational system. It seems to me that the problem is acute, and if people in the area concentrated on areas in which they concur and perhaps not emphasize where they disagree, perhaps possibly greater progress can be made, and I think that it weakens everybody's cause if there is division and bitterness among the people themselves, all of whom are committed to try to improve the lives of the Indians and the lives of the children. I think everybody should realize and understand that their first responsibility is to the young children who are involved in our educational system and how we can improve that, not who gets the credit for it. Thank you very much. Your suggestions were very helpful.

Your paper by Dr. Striner will be printed in the record at this point.

(The paper referred to follows:)

TOWARD A FUNDAMENTAL PROGRAM FOR THE TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT, AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

(By Herbert E. Striner,[1] Director of Program Development, The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research)

A number of individuals have contributed importantly to this paper. Without the help of the following, it could not have been written; my gratitude to Professor Charles Abrams, Professor

---

[1] The views and positions in this paper do not necessarily represent those of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

Everett Hagen, Dr. Bruce Jessup, Mr. William W. Keeler, Mr. Richard Lasko, Dr. Walsh McDermott, Dr. Robert Roessel, Mr. Richard Shifter, Dr. Milton Stern, Professor Sol Tax, Mr. Richard Buffum, Mr. Donald Lindholm, Mr. David Tilson.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

On May 16, 1967, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, acting for the Administration, submitted to Congress the Indian Resources Development Act of 1967. The main purpose of this bill is to provide Indians with managerial, credit and corporate tools to enable them to participate more fully in the nation's social, economic, educational and political life; and to permit them to exercise greater initiative and self-determination. Title I of the Act pertains to the provision of an Indian Development Loan Authority; Title II authorizes, through the Secretary of the Interior, somewhat broader incorporation charter provisions than have existed under earlier legislation; Title III provides new authorities and clarifies existing authorities under which Indian tribes manage property and conduct business transactions. This title also provides the Secretary of the Interior with additional authority for dealing with land acquisition and land fractionation on a more rational basis; and, finally, Title IV deals with a miscellany of items of which one has to do with an increase of $10 million for adult vocational training. This item, Section 401, is the *sole* provision in this so-called "most important legislation proposed for American Indians since the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934"[2] which has to do in any way with training and employment. This legislative effort to provide new, more meaningful options to American Indians reflects a tragic misconception of the needs of the Indian population and the means which must be made available to Indians if they choose to move away from their traditional cultures and towards that of the non-Indian society.

To begin with, it assumes a level of financial sophistication which is nonexistent in many tribes and provides little or no means of obtaining access to such resources. And although an appropriation for a $500 million loan fund is sought; not more than $100 million is available during the first 5 years, and no loan of more than $60,000 can be made without the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. But these objections to this new "major legislation" are minor ones. The core of the problem is that this new legislation ignores completely the fact that a solution to the Indian "problem" calls for efforts in education, training, housing, welfare and health at a level of funding never properly understood. To apply the remedies of Titles I–IV of the Indian Resources Development Act of 1967 to the current problem of our Indian population is analogous to developing a repair manual for a 1967 Rolls Royce before we have successfully built a 1928 Model A Ford.

THE PROBLEMS OF TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

To deal with the problems of training and employment of American Indians is, to begin with, not a problem of huge budgets, at least relative to the size of most federal programs we have grown used to. The entire Indian population of this nation is about 600,000. But only approximately 400,000 are within the jurisdiction of the federal government, the remainder living away from the reservations and in various degrees of assimilation. But even amongst this latter group an unknown, though probably large, number need continuing help in adjusting to the non-Indian society. Thus, we are talking about a "minority" minority, making up about .002 percent of our total population. Viewed in quantitative terms, the training and employment problem for this relatively small group is deceptively small. What makes the problem formidable is not its size, but its nature. For it is made up of generous portions of just about every major social problem of the day: self-sustaining rural poverty, slum diseases, chronic unemployment of almost 50 percent of the adult male population, race prejudice, an imperfectly adopted school system and very little available socioeconomic data on which to build programs to alleviate or remedy these situations. The major federal agency entrusted with the task of dealing with Indian problems, itself has no integral research program!

Further, to deal with Indian training and employment problems, there must be a concerted effort to understand the different cultures of the Indian population. In a way, these cultures present at any moment in time a spectrum of civilizations which encompass a spread of several thousands of years. Some tribal groups are not far from the economies and cultures which we imagine ceased to exist well before the days of ancient Greece. And as far as group differences are concerned, there are 784 tribes, bands, groups or communities which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has to deal with. Many are totally different from each other. The Navajo and the Crow share few of the same problems having to do with training and employment. The Cree and the Cherokee are also hardly amenable to the same type of economic development assistance.

---

[2] Secretary Udall's statement, p. 1, Press Release of May 16, 1967, Office of the Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

This is not to say, however, that a training and employment program cannot be developed which is at once so general so that it can be designed within the usual definitional framework of what we call a "program," and yet be so tailored that it has operational significance for diverse tribes with different cultures, geographic settings and stages of economic development. To begin with, there must be an understanding of and sympathy for a crucial problem which the Indian has regarding the white man . . . the problem of confidence. Without this, a federal effort to move *with* the Indian, *not lead him*, in a direction of economic development and the training and employment which is implicit, will be an exercise in frustration.

Few Americans are unaware of the history of broken treaties with Indian tribes, oppressive military wars against them and rapacious land and water dealings by means of which the Indians were divested of much of their property. But this treatment, while "ancient history" to the white man, is not only fresh in the memories of the Indians but reinforced by an action taken in 1953 by the federal government.

1953—A YEAR OF RETROGRESSION

By 1953, under Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, a good deal of progress had been made with regard to new programs stimulated by the federal interest in changing the backward nature of its past relations with the Indians. However, with the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108, 83rd Congress, August 1, 1953 this progress was brought to a halt. House Concurrent Resolution 108 declared it to be the policy of the government to withdraw federal responsibility and services for Indians at the earliest possible date. Under this "termination" policy federal responsibility and services for several tribes was ended without their consent during the mid-1950s.

This ill-advised action resulted in near economic chaos for the once economically stable Menominees of Wisconsin. Other Indians were also undesirably affected by this resolution. Under this policy of the early '50s the relocation of thousands of Indians from reservations to urban areas where employment was alleged to be more readily available was encouraged. This experiment proved to be an expensive exercise in human misery for the Indians and wasted dollars for the government. Far too many of the Indians so relocated were totally unprepared through education or vocational training to secure steady employment to support a decent standard if living in urban centers. Many of these Indians wound up in the slums or on Skid Row. Many others returned to the reservations with a further attitude of bitterness towards non-Indians as the results of this resolution. The program did not begin to be brought to a halt until September 18, 1958 when Secretary of the Interior, Fred A. Seaton indicated that there should be no termination without the consent of the Indian tribes affected and every effort should be focused on health, education and development of economic opportunities. Nonetheless, a great deal of damage had been done effecting Indian relations with the federal government and Indian suspicion of the real intent of the white man.

A CHANGE OF DIRECTION

As a result of this policy of the mid-1950s and the much longer history of dishonest federal relationships with the Indians, any major effort to take steps to improve Indian training and employment programs must first be built upon several fundamental shifts in the federal government's view of the Indian in the American society. To begin with, there must first be a conclusive statement on the part of the U.S. Government recognizing that, as the first Americans, the Indians alone among its people are under no social pressure to be culturally assimilated unless they choose to do so. The Alaskan natives must also, of course, be included. In short, the U.S. must concede that the Indians and Alaskan natives are indeed a special case. This, of course, has historic precedent in that *only* the Indians as an ethnic group are singled out for special treatment in the Constitution of the United States. Secondly, there must be a complete and formal disavowal of "termination" as a governmental policy or goal. If "termination" ever is to come for a tribe, it should come only after a long, slow process *wholly initiated and carried forward* by the tribe itself. It must be stressed in particular that neither tribal progress in socioeconomic development nor an award by the Indian Claims Commission should be used as a weapon to induce a tribe to apply for "termination." Thirdly, Indian lands (i.e., the Indian estates) must be viewed as being inviolate. A similar statement should be made about the trust status of allotted lands. In the latter only, there also has to be a statement of principles governing the rules of sale that must be drafted as to fully protect tribal as well as individual interests. This would apparently be in contradiction with the hypothecation provisions contemplated under the new Indian Resources Development Act of 1967. And finally, there must be a policy that substantial Indian participation is involved or must be involved at both the national and local levels when any new proposals or programs are contemplated concerning improvement of Indian education, training and employment or the economic development of Indian tribes.

It is difficult for any non-Indian who has not been involved in some measure with the problems of the American-Indian to understand the crucial nature of the "termination" issue in any discussions which takes place concerning economic development and employment of Indians. The Indian, for the most part, has a psychological and cultural relationship with the land which surpasses that usually understood by the non-Indian. There is not only a religious significance but there is also implicitly an economic security significance of considerable concern to the Indian when his land or the tribal lands are referred to. Because of the policy of "termination" between 1953 and 1958, no programs can be developed which in any way indicate to the Indian that they might really be utilized finally to separate him from his land. To a considerable extent the "termination" issue poisons every aspect of Indian affairs today. The issue of "termination" is a major psychological barrier to Indian socioeconomic development. Only after there has been a *formal* disavowal of the termination concept will it be possible for individual tribes to start considering whethey they would like to assume responsibility for individual socioeconomic programs such as those considered in the Indian Resources Development Act of 1967.

A second policy statement has to do with the fact that the government bears and must continue to bear a unique relationship to the Indian problem having to do with assimilation. The concepts of "termination" and "assimilation" are closely interrelated and each has had some basis in premises that have dominated U.S. non-Indian attitudes for more than a century.

Assimilation as well as termination has operated from the beginning when Indians were first encountered by white settlers. The Indian, not having had the "benefits" of white civilization, was regarded as a childlike creature. Implicit in this assumption is the idea that when properly indoctrinated with civilization the child grows up and, logically, there will be some point in time when his status as an Indian, that is as a child, can be terminated. Also, there was the premise or assumption that grew up in the latter half of the 19th Century that the Indian is essentially no different from the non-English speaking uneducated immigrant. Like the immigrant he was seen as having a social obligation to go through the "melting pot" so that he could be culturally assimilated into the dominant U.S. society. It was regarded as the role of the government to help the Indian to go through the "melting pot" as rapidly as possible and once through it his status as an Indian could be terminated.

Although different, these two premises are so obviously intertwined that in effect they constitute a single idea—an idea which I believe to be patently false. The right of Indian separateness was clearly recognized in the Constitution of the United States. Indian tribes were recognized as nations enjoying a treaty relationship with the U.S. Government. It is noteworthy moreover that the Federal Courts consistently treated individual Indians as persons who need special protection and services and the tribes as independent nations.

In addition to the legal right of some form of separateness there is the question of the social obligation to be assimilated by the dominant U.S. society. During the period of large-scale immigration to the United States, there was widespread acceptance of the idea that the immigrant was under a social obligation to be Americanized. Although what was involved may not have been defined in precise terms, there was a broad consensus endorsed by the immigrants themselves that at least in the ordinary daily business of life "the

American way" of doing things was to be the prevailing standard. This broad and generally useful concept of the "melting pot" became so much a part of our folkways and was applicable to so many people, that it is understandable that the small group of U.S. Indians was not recognized as constituting an exception. But the Indians and Alaskans *are* an exception because they did not choose to immigrate to what is now the United States, they had settled here first. By contrast, our European, Asian, and South American immigrants in making their choice to come voluntarily to the United States also chose to become a part of the predominant U.S. culture. If the African Negro immigrants, who did not choose to come here, had succeeded in maintaining their culture, they, too, on emancipation, would presumably have constituted a second exception. As things worked out, however, their tribal culture was largely lost and they, too, chose to become a part of the general U.S. culture with its strong Anglo-European traditions.

But the U.S. Indian has no "old country." His old country is here. And it was here that he was confronted by the onrushing flood of a rapidly evolving technologically based human migration that was successful in creating its own stable society. In any social system the effort necessary to preserve the old ways is frequently heavily reinforced when they seem under attack from without. Thus, today, we can only speculate whether if the Indian had not been pressured so unthinkingly to give up his culture, he might not have actually done so in far greater numbers as a matter of choice. Without question, however, the greatest tragedy in terms of Indian socioeconomic development was that the question of whether to enter U.S. society or not was apparently regarded both by the Indian and the government alike, as an all or nothing proposition—a middle way whereby the Indian could choose to participate on a selective basis in various non-reservation activities never gained much consideration.

A major influence in perpetuating the current frozen situation is the idea that the Indian has an obligation to be culturally assimilated, because this in turn, perpetuates the all or nothing idea that he must give up being an Indian if he is to have a chance to earn a share of the benefits of U.S. society. I believe that the logical action to get both parties out of this frozen situation is to separate the choice of job career and training from the choice of the extent to which the Indian wishes to adhere to his culture. Thus, it is important for the U.S. Government to specifically take the position that there is this separateness of issue and that the Indian will remain as an individual who is entitled to a uniquely preferential status in the future with regard to relationships between the Indian population and the non-Indian population and government of the United States. Job development, education and training must be dealt with, and can only be dealt with meaningfully, apart from this issue.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Almost half the Indian working age population is chronically unemployed. Approximately half of the Indian families have incomes of less than $2,00[illegible] year and about 75 percent of all Indian families have incomes of less than $[illegible]0 a year. For no other group in our society do the economic measures give [illegible] a stark revelation of poverty. Ironically, even these indexes provide only crude measurements because the Indian has even been largely bypassed by our insatiable data-gathering activities.

In the past it has been assumed that the only solution to this problem was to persuade Indians to move to the cities and strenuous efforts were made to induce them to do so. Programs to assist Indians who wish to seek off-reservation employment should be continued and indeed strengthened. As a matter of fact, the Indians who wish to leave the reservation must be provided with an increasing supply of supportive services if they are to be able to make their way in the non-Indian society. However, it is hardly realistic to rely primarily on relocation as a means of alleviating the plight of the Indian with regard to training and employment. This route ultimately may be the one which young Indians will choose, but this choice will only be a free one when they have been educationally fitted for a wide variety of employment possibilities.

At the present time approximately 50,000 reservation Indians are unemployed and in 10 years population growth will require at least 10,000 more jobs. Such jobs can come primarily from 3 sources: (1) Private non-Indian manufacturing plants that locate on or near reservations, (2) Creation of Indian-owned and operated businesses on reservations and (3) Housing and other public works construction programs.

The first step in any program concerned with training and employment of Indians must be that of the development of a far more effective educational system. This educational system must be one which is viewed as starting in the kindergarten years and continuing on through a college-training program.

Education

The Nature of the Problem—Everyone concerned with Indian education agrees that substantial improvements are necessary. The results speak for themselves: Indian children compare very unfavorably to the national averages in drop-out rates and in achievement levels at all grades. Too many Indian children drop out with inadequate education to make them employable and too few Indian children realize their educational potential.

Of the approximately 150,000 Indian children in elementary and high school in the states in which the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) operates schools, approximately one-third attend 254 Bureau schools, the other children go mainly to public schools, although approximately 8,000 attend private—mainly church-sponsored schools. Two-thirds of all children in Bureau schools attend 81 boarding schools, some of which enroll over 1,000 children. Nearly 60 percent of the day schools for elementary school children have enrollments of fewer than 100 pupils. In addition to the children in Bureau-operated boarding schools, approximately 4,000 elementary and secondary school children are housed in 18 border-town dormitories where they attend public schools off the reservation. If present trends on Indian reservations continue, the number of Indian children in Bureau schools and border-town dormitories together will increase from about 53,000 in 1966 to 72,000 in 1975.

Indian children attend school in an intercultural setting with the majority of their teachers and administrators being non-Indians. The curriculum, the books and teaching materials, and the underlying educational objectives are basically designed to prepare children for life in non-Indian, middle-class American society. Since Indian children on the reservation come from a very different society and most do not speak English when they enter school, their value system is very different from that implicit in the educational experience to which they are exposed. The schools do not view their task as that of helping Indian children to adjust to changes within their own culture, but to help them adjust to a culture alien to them. In doing so, they must (1) help the children speak, read, and write English, a language which is foreign to most of them; (2) expose them to experiences completely new to them (most Navajo children have never seen a city, or a boat, or an elevator before going to school, and many have not used silverware or even slept in a bed; most Eskimo children have not seen a horsedrawn plow before beginning school and many have never seen a tree); (3) help them to develop salable skills; (4) expose them to cultural values very different from their own (for example, a competitive role in which one seeks status as an individual rather than a cooperative one in which the individual subjugates his interests to those of the group) and hope they will accept them.[3]

This is exceedingly difficult to do well. There is evidence that the emotional pressure generated by this intercultural setting of Indian schools contributes to serious mental health problems, high drop-out rates and unsatisfactory achievement levels. Skill training and employability in adult years is seriously affected by these early educational deficiencies.

These difficulties are compounded by the minimal involvement of Indian parents in the formal education of their children. In most situations (there are some notable exceptions), Indian parents are not encouraged to participate in the school experience and they do not really understand what is expected of their children in school and what is expected of them as parents other than to see that their children attend school. Not surprisingly, most Indian parents have ambivalent attitudes towards the schools that their children attend.

Clearly, some way of increasing parental involvement is essential. The BIA schools in general tend to enroll the Indian children who (1) do not have access to a public school because of isolation, (2) are so retarded educationally that they cannot benefit from an ordinary public school program, (3) come from broken or disorganized homes and are so emotionally disturbed that they require boarding care, (4) are dropouts from public schools, or (5) need vocational education not available in their own communities. In general, the Indian children attending BIA schools are more disadvantaged than those attending public schools.

---

[3] The Rough Rock Demonstration School of Chinle, Arizona, has demonstrated conclusively that this pattern can be changed. Under the able leadership of Dr. Robert Roessel, Navaho people have been brought directly into the designing and operation of this residential school. Funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity, it provides an exemplary education.

Even so, public schools are not notably more effective in educating Indian children than the Bureau schools and, in many places, are considerably less effective. The drop-out rates are very high and achievement levels are well below national averages. Moreover, the strong factor of racial prejudice is present in many areas where substantial Indian populations exist. These attitudes make for a very inhospitable climate for educating Indian children in public schools. The assumption that integrated education is invariably better than segregated education must be qualified by a careful assessment of local circumstances in Indian country before it can be accepted as valid. It would not appear to be valid under present circumstances in many areas.

In addition to direct operation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, the Federal Government contributes to the cost of educating Indian children in the public schools under four laws:

A. The Johnson-O'Malley Act, which was passed in 1934 authorizes the BIA to make grants to public schools which educate Indian children in areas where substantial numbers of Indian children are situated. In some cases, the BIA contracts with states (e.g., Alaska) to cover the total cost of educating Indian children. The public schools which received Johnson-O'Malley grants in 1966 enrolled over 56,000 Indian students.

B. Under Public Laws 874 and 815, Indian children are counted in the Federal impact formula for awards to states for construction and operation of public schools.

C. Under Public Law 89–10 (the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965), projects for improving the education of disadvantaged children are available to schools operated by the states in Indian country and, under a new amendment to Title I of PL 89–10, some $5 million had been available in FY 1967 to the BIA for Title I projects in BIA schools. These programs are administered by the U.S. Office of Education.

Early childhood education was initiated recently by the Office of Economic Opportunity which funded a number of Head Start programs on Indian reservations. The BIA school program starts children at age 6. It has long sought funds for kindergartens, but without success.

The expenditures of the Bureau of Indians Affairs in fiscal year 1966 for construction and operation of elementary and secondary schools, as well as Johnson-O'Malley grants to states, plus the grants made by the Office of Economic Opportunity for preschool, elementary, secondary and adult education projects totaled approximately $155 million in 1966. These funds do not include amounts paid to states and local school districts with Indian enrollment under Public Laws 815, 874, and 89–10. It is difficult to obtain data concerning these programs. Indeed, one is overwhelmed by the inadequacy of data on Indian education (and on Indian problems in general) and the inadequate effort being directed to correct this deficiency. The complexity of the problems associated with Indian education merit substantial research and development efforts and strong determination to adopt promising innovations as they appear. The assumptions underlying the conventional approach to Indian education evidently have not been valid and a systematic search for more realistic approaches is clearly in order.

Conclusions of education as a precondition for training

A. Improving the effectiveness of the education provided to Indian children must remain a high priority objective of the Federal Government. Although direct Federal action can most readily take place in the Federally-operated schools, special efforts should be directed to encourage and assist the public schools in improving the quality of their eduation programs for Indian children. But rather than continue to press for the transfer of Indian children to the public schools, irrespective of whether they are willing and able to provide the special attention needed by Indian children, the Federally-operated Indian schools should be made into models of excellence for the education of disadvantaged children. At the same time, the U.S. Office of Education should make much greater use of its resources and contacts to bring about improvement in Indian education in the public schools.

B. The costs of improving the education of Indian children are bound to be high. Indeed, a really effective program probably will require doubling or even trebling the per pupil costs. But the high educational costs are bound to be more than offset by the reduction in unemployment rates and the increases in personal incomes for Indians that are certain to follow in the wake of improved education.

C. It is essential to involve Indian parents in the education of their children and to give them an important voice—both at the national and local levels—in setting policy for those schools in which Indian children predominate. Indeed, wherever Indian tribes express the desire and evidence the capability to do so, they should be permitted to operate schools directly under contract. As indicated earlier in this paper, a model for this approach already exists at the Rough Rock Demonstration School at Chinle, Arizona.

D. A major research and development effort is badly needed. The lack of solid, factual data on Indian education must be remedied as quickly as possible. Without such information, any serious research program will remain limited as a resource on which to build more effective operating programs.

E. The curriculum (and teaching material) in both the Federally-operated Indian schools and public schools in Indian country should include substantial information about Indian culture and history and factual material about *current* Indian life. This is important both for Indian and *non-Indian* children, if they are to acquire a balanced perspective both on the Indian heritage and on current circumstances.

What should be done?

A. *An immediate goal should be to make the Federally-operated schools into a model system.*—A plan should be prepared in consultation between the BIA and the National Advisory Board on Indian Education (the establishment of which is recommended below) and with the help of the best expert advice obtainable in the country. It should allow for phased implementation with some innovations being embodied rapidly, others over a period of years. The target should be full implementation in five to seven years, and the program should be initiated in FY 1968. The plan should pay special attention to:

1. *Steps needed to strengthen the teaching staff.*—The most important requirement is to raise salaries. BIA teacher salaries are not really competitive on the national level. Starting salaries are too low, and teachers in BIA schools do not get the whole summer off as do teachers in state-operated public schools. Much more attention must be paid to screening applicants whose qualifications and motivation fit the especially exacting requirements of teaching Indian children. And much more effort must be made to provide special training—in the culture, the psychology and the special problems of Indian children—to teachers of Indian children. Competent university contractors probably should be developed to provide this type of training.

2. *Pupil-teacher ratios.*—The average pupil-teacher ratio in BIA schools now is about 29 to 1. There is very strong evidence that the maximum effective ratio for teaching disadvantaged children is 20 to 1. (Some educators feel that even this is too high—that the ratio should be no more than 15 to 1 for seriously disadvantaged children.) Obviously, a change of this magnitude will require several years to bring about and will approximately double operating costs per pupil, but it is an essential step.

3. *Teaching of English as a second language.*—The BIA has recently inaugurated experimentally the use of teaching techniques and materials for teaching English-as-a-second-language. This practice should be spread as rapidly as possible throughout the Indian school system.

4. *Early childhood education.*—Present policy is to start Children in BIA schools at the age of six. There is strong evidence that early childhood education—particularly for children with the language and cultural backgrounds Indian children have—is important. The plans should envisage early childhood education down to the age of three.

5. *Improved curriculum, reading, and teaching materials.*—Special efforts should be made to develop the materials needed to include Indian (and specific tribal) history and culture into the curriculum and to produce reading and teaching materials that reflect the cultural backgrounds of the children. At the present time Indian children are taught to read in books that were developed for white, middle-class children. The world portrayed therein has no meaning for Indian children. Indian history and culture must be introduced early and should appear in appropriate places throughout the elementary and secondary programs so that the children emerge with a realistic grasp of—and pride in—their Indian heritage, as well as an understanding of the non-Indian American culture. Psychologists

and educators are agreed that Indian children must acquire a positive image of themselves in the educational process and a realistic understanding of their environment if they are to be well-adjusted, in good mental health have a successful educational experience.

6. *Elimination of boarding schools.*—At the present time large numbers of Indian children—starting at age six—are attending boarding schools which are sometimes long distances from their homes. Most educators and psychologists would agree that separating young children from their parents is not desirable. Solving this problem will prove to be extremely difficult, but given sufficient time, money—particularly for roads—and determination, it can be solved.

7. *Guidance, counselling, mental health.*—Trained guidance counsellors and school psychologists are much too scarce in Indian schools. Indian children need extra attention, and probably at earlier ages, than is the case for most children if drop-out rates are to be reduced, vocational options wisely selected and emotional disturbances dealt with properly.

8. *Vocational education.*—At the present time, vocational training available to Indians is limited to two types: the post-high school training offered, for example, at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, and adult vocational training offered to Indians between the ages of 18 and 35 in regular private vocational training schools. Vocational education should be strengthened considerably by developing it along two lines. First, it should tie in directly with the basic fundamental educational system. This type of fundamental education, however, must be considerably different from that which now exists in Bureau schools. Training in language and mathematical skills should relate directly to utilization in an actual commercial, industrial or other type of business application. The vocational education program itself should be undertaken no sooner than the last two years of high school. At an earlier period, the child is not really able to absorb a sufficient amount of fundamental education along with enough of the skill training aspects so that he is well-grounded in either. Unless the Indian child is to go on to a technical training program beyond the 12th grade, he must have a sufficient fundamental background in reading and mathematical concepts, and to dilute this in the 9th or 10th grade with vocational skill training would be most unfortunate. In addition, the vocational skill training the Indian gets in the 11th and 12th grades must be viewed only as preparatory for further on-the-job training which he will have after leaving high school.

A second type of vocational training should be that which provides for technical training institutes at the 13th and 14th grade levels. Increasingly, in order to prepare for the new types of more technically-oriented jobs in our society, the young person must have a background which is sufficiently deep in the fundamentals so that a four-year education at high school level should be viewed as a jumping-off point for two years at a technical training insttiute or a junior college which is concerned primarily with a move into a job rather than a move into a regular liberal arts college system. The technical training institutes should be developed in close relationship with industries which the institute envisions itself as serving. This is important for severeal reasons. To begin with, only by actually having industry representatives involved in the technical institute training program can we be assured of the fact that the curriculum will reflect the realities of the actual job situation itself. Representatives from industries or commercial organizations for whom the training is taking place should be made a part of the institutional organization[4] in order to develop criteria for training, curriculum development, and finally act as the means of placement. In addition, it is important that the technical training institute devote far more resources than is ordinarily the case to counseling. We have a built-in bias in our present senior high school system which provides ample counseling for those students who are college bound, but very little guidance for those students who are concerned with a job as their next move after graduation from high school. As a result, the vocational students have very little in the way of inputs concerning fields which are open to them and further education which they may need. The same situation should be prevented from occurring if we establish these new technical training institutes. We must start out with the idea that counseling is a major factor for the success of vocational training. The adult vocational training program has been successful in aiding Indians to develop their skills.

---

[4] Serving on curriculum development groups, training advisory committees, and placement advisory committees.

The present authorization allows a maximum flexibility for developing special programs for Indians. The BIA should be encouraged to use this flexibility to experiment with new programs of wider scope which extend into new fields. Increasing attention should be given to apprenticeship training in the management of service and retail business. As reservation development is stimulated, the opportunities for Indians to go into this type of training will increase. The apprenticeship phase of the training might be coupled with formal training in business procedures. On-the-job training in the construction trades is also of special interest. Significant amounts of construction occur on reservations without Indians benefiting from employment. Because of short contracts and the seasonality of the industry, special arrangements need to be worked out. A special effort should be made to use on-the-job training for Indians in any "turn-key" housing contracts with Indian housing authorities. It should also be used by Indian housing construction enterprises and for training Indians for road construction work.

9. *University relationships.*—Relationships—funded either through contracts or grants—should be established with universities to stimulate and sustain their long-term interest in Indian education. Ideally, several universities should develop long-term relationships and interest in the educational problems of specific tribes to (a) help develop curriculum, reading and teaching materials, (b) train teachers and guidance personnel, (c) do research, and (d) provide technical assistance.

10. *Adult education.*—Special efforts should be made to use the Federally-operated Indian schools as centers for adult education. For example, arts and crafts programs, English teaching, literacy programs, community leadership and organization, and many other subjects should be considered.

11. *Research and development.*—The Federally-operated Indian schools should be especially alert to promising innovations in educational techniques and technologies. The problem of improving the education of disadvantaged children is one of the major tasks faced by the nation as a whole and by many underdeveloped countries. The Federally-operated Indian schools should lead the way in developing effective solutions for these problems.[6] Thus, a major commitment to research and development is urged not as a frill but as a basic need.

In this connection, one cannot help but be impressed with the paucity of data on almost every aspect of Indian education. A really thorough study of Indian education is badly needed. To ensure objectivity, such a study should be performed by a highly qualified, university-based group which presently has no involvement in, or responsibility for, any aspect of Indian education. The study should cover the education of Indian children under all the main sets of circumstances where it occurs, i.e., in BIA schools, in state-operated public schools where Indian children are in the majority, also where they are in the minority, and in the mission schools.

B. An all-Indian school board should be established for each Federally-operated Indian school.—The basic purposes of establishing such school boards would be: (1) to give Indian parents an important voice in shaping the educational experience of their children; this is a *sine quo non* for obtaining affirmative parental involvement, which in turn is essential for any school to operate effectively; (2) to stimulate use of the schools as centers for adult education and community development; (3) to ensure that the school administrators and teachers remain attuned to the attitudes and values of the local community they serve. Without such a Board, the danger of school administrators being paternalistic and patronizing in their treatment of Indian parents will persist.

The School Boards must be given a real voice in setting policy and programs for the schools. This recommendation may be viewed as both impractical and threatening by many BIA school administrators. There no doubt will be many practical problems to solve. For example, a careful study undoubtedly will be needed, to develop the specific areas of authority, selection procedures, and relationships to tribal government, as well as BIA, of the School Boards. Also, training programs (or seminars) for school administrators and for Indian School Board members will be needed to prepare them for dealing with each other. But none of these problems is insuperable.

---

[6] Much can and should be gleaned from the experiences gained from the many experimental programs supported by the Poverty Program which have dealt with innovative educational techniques. Federal funding of programmed learning and computer-oriented learning systems lags with respect to Indian education.

C. Establish a National Advisory Board on Indian Education.—Ideally, this should be a statutory Board, but since it will take many months for Congress to consider and act on legislation, in the interim, the Secretary of the Interior could establish a twelve-member Board, at least half of whom should be Indians; the others should be outstanding educators and private citizens with broad backgrounds in public affairs. The purposes of the Board would be to (1) advise the Secretary and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on educational policies and programs for the Federally-operated Indian schools, (2) advise on policies and programs affecting the education of Indians in the state-operated public schools. The Board's concerns should cover the entire spectrum of the problems of Indian education. Secretariat service should be supplied by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Both the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Commissioner of Education should be *ex officio* members of the Board.

One of the first tasks of the Board would be to advise the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the development of a comprehensive plan for making the Federally-operated Indian schools into a model system. The Board undoubtedly will request that certain studies be undertaken, that data be presented to it regularly, and that a periodic—probably annual—report on Indian education be prepared.

D. The Commissioner of Education should have the U.S. Office of Education use its best efforts to help the states improve the quality of education offered to Indian children.—At the present time the U.S. Office of Education is unable to even supply data on the amount of money from its grant programs which actually benefits Indian children.

The Office of Education, if directed to do so, could use its resources and extensive relationships with the states to bring about substantial improvements in the quality of education now being provided to Indian children in the public schools.

Furthermore, OE's research and development funds, including the regional educational laboratory program, could and should direct substantial attention to Indian education. The result will benefit not only the Indians, but all schools educating disadvantaged children.

E. Adult education and agriculture extension programs should be given additional emphasis with an expansion of funding.—Both the Indian Bureau and the Office of Economic Opportunity help to provide special education and training for Indian adults. The Bureau budgeted $1,105,000 for this activity in fiscal year 1966. The amount was reduced to approximately $700,000 during fiscal year 1967 and the office of Economic Opportunity budgeted $470,000. Programs in which both are interested include literacy training, instruction in money management and civic responsibility, alcoholic rehabilitation, the arts and crafts training, and general community development.

Both agencies also contribute funds for agricultural extension and home demonstration programs. The BIA allocated $1.8 million for this activity in fiscal year 1966 and Office of Economic Opportunity $1,007,000 The Bureau's program includes grants to state extension services in various parts of the country. Only in Arizona and Mississippi, because of peculiar situations in these locales, does BIA provide all extension and home demonstration services on Indian reservations, rather than rely on state officials. It also provides some services in New Mexico, Florida and Alaska. The BIA extension program also reaches Indian youngsters through 4–H club programs. In 1966 there were 14,000 young Indians enrolled in these organizations. The Office of Economic Opportunity contributes to the adult education, extension and home demonstration efforts through grants to tribal community action programs. Among the activities funded thusly are the establishment of family centers, home and family improvement programs, family life education and training, and agriculture and livestock management. These are all valuable programs, but reach only a small percent of those who need such help.

EMPLOYMENT

In 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs undertook a national program of relocation assistance to Indians which was aimed at those family heads who were motivated to seek employment away from the reservation. Aid was also furnished to dependents and included transportation, subsistence grants prior to the receipt of a first paycheck, and counseling and guidance to the adjustment of an urban community. Later the program was increased both as to geographic scope and the range of services provided. Actually, the supportive counseling and guidance help was on an extremely limited basis. In 1956, the program was given additional impetus when Congress enacted P.L. 84–959 authorizing the Bureau to provide Indians, chiefly between the ages 18 and 35, with vocational training, on-the-job training and apprenticeship training. The original act provided for an appropriation of $3,500,000 for each fiscal year. Due to the increased demand for this type of service by the Indian people, the act was amended on September 22, 1961 to provide $7,500,000 each fiscal year. On December 23, 1963 Congress again amended the act to provide $12 million each fiscal year and on April 22, 1965 further amended it to provide $15 million a year. Obviously, the demand for this sort of program has exceeded the rather conservative estimates of the funding that was needed to provide for the supply of services and training called for.

In July, 1962 the name of the Bureau's program was changed to "Employment Assistance" and at that time the concept of the activity was broadened to include placement on or near reservations as well as at the following 7 urban centers: Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; Dallas, Texas; Denver, Colorado; Los Angeles, California; Oakland, California; and San Jose, California.

At present the Employment Assistance program of the Indian Bureau concentrates on assisting Indians to go directly into employment; to enter institutional training in approved public and private schools; to enter employment in on-the-job training situations under contract with industry; and to enter apprenticeships. Individuals participating in these programs and the members of their families are assisted to obtain employment and furnished grants for transportation, subsistence enroute to destination, subsistence until receipt of first paycheck, tuition, personal appearance, health, furniture and housewares and emergencies. In addition, participants are furnished counseling and guidance supportive services for adjustment to the job and the community. Included in these supportive services are prevocational training for those with a low degree of educational attainment to enable them to enter into vocational training and special orientation if needed at centers in Seattle and Oakland. The former city, of course, is primarily for Alaskan natives.

From the inception of the program through June 30, 1966 a total of about 26,000 single persons or heads of families were assisted in going directly into employment. During the same period approximately 15,000 single persons or heads of families were helped to enter institutional training and approximately 5,000 single persons or heads of families were assisted to enter on-the-job training situations making thus for a total of approximately 46,000 program recipients for all activities. At present, institutional training is provided at a little over 350 accredited schools in approximately 900 approved courses throughout 26 states. On-the-job training is now provided under 32 different contracts with industry on or near Indian reservations in 13 states. Indians are also eligible to participate in other federally-sponsored training programs such as those made possible by the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) and the Economic Opportunity Act. Training programs for Indians on reservations are conducted by the Labor Department under the MDTA. Except for a limited number of all Indian projects, these are integrated MDTA efforts. Since the records of the various state employment services agencies preclude identification by race, the Department of Labor has not assessed the number of Indians participating. It is, however, in the process of evaluating the role which the Manpower Development Training Programs are playing with respect to minority groups throughout the country. During fiscal year 1966 the Office of Economic Opportunity provided training and employment opportunities for Indians under 4 major programs: The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), Title V Work Experience, Migrant and Agricultural Placement, and Homebuilding and Improving Training. Approximately 18,000 trainees were enrolled in the NYC and approximately 500 were enrolled under Title V Work Experience. One reservation was funded for a Migrant and Agricultural Placement Project and 3 reservations with a little over $2,250,000 were funded for projects having to do with homebuilding and improvement training.

All of these efforts by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the field of employment assistance are woefully slight given the overwhelming magnitude of the employment and training task. I have already alluded under the part on education to the necessity for a major expansion of vocational-educational activities, but beyond vocational-educational activities there is an urgent need for an expansion of a placement and counseling function within the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There is also a major need for an expansion of the housing and community improvement activities which have been touched but slightly by the OEO funding in 1966. Indeed, under the heading of Employment, Job Development and Training, I would say that 2 major potentials for progress stand out—one of which has to do with the housing needs on the Indian reservation and the second has to do with the provision of incentives for business expansion of activities on or near reservations. Let me first deal with the expansion of private business activities on or near Indian reservations.

Most Indian reservations are relatively unappealing locations for industry. Most were established on lands with little economic importance to the white settlers. With few exceptions, despite the technological progress of the past century, the Indians' lands generally remain of limited potential, especially in relation to their burgeoning population. (In contrast to a nearly 50 percent decline in the U.S. farm population from 1930 to 1960, the Indian population on or near reservations jumped by more than 50 percent.) Non-Indians have been quick to exploit the few valuable economic opportunities, ranging from furs to oil, and few durable benefits have accrued to the Indians. The distances between reservations and major markets result in high transportation costs. Intrareservation transportation systems are minimal. There is an acute shortage of management skill on reservations. Much of the labor force is untrained and unaccustomed to the requirements of steady employment. Utilities and public facilities are only in the early stages of development. The Indian population is widely scattered; few Indian communities have a population of over 3,000.

Strong incentives, therefore, are needed to attract industrial plants to reservations. The package of incentives proposed below is absolutely essential to secure the additional jobs upon which the full range of Indian progress depends. Later in this section, a plan for a new instrumentality to help foster an economic takeoff, the Indian Development Corporation, is set forth.

A. Incentives to attract industry.—Private capital, business ideas and management capability are powerful forces for the rest of our country, but little of their impact has been felt on Indian reservations. It is doubtful that many industrial firms will locate their plants in these areas, far from their other operations and from localities that are attractive living places for their executives, unless inducements stronger than those now being offered by thousands of municipalities throughout the country are available to attract them.

1. Employment tax credit: A prime incentive should be a tax credit for industries that establish new plants on or near reservations, based on the number of Indians they employ. This approach is offered for three principal reasons:

   a. There are over 100 reservations with serious unemployment problems. The amount of tax credit could be varied to meet the needs of each of these different situations.

   b. The benefit would apply only to economically feasible enterprises. A direct employment subsidy, in contrast, would require payments to firms whether or not they were profitable and thus tend to encourage marginal operations.

   c. Direct Federal budget expenditures would be avoided. This would tend to encourage the maintenance of a consistent program over a period of years without dependence on the uncertainties of the appropriations process. Also, an increase in the Federal budget would not occur, even though the net effect due to the reduction in revenue might be the same. Furthermore, many industrial firms will not accept a direct subsidy payment, but welcome a tax credit.

2. Details of tax credit proposal: Although the details of a tax credit proposal would have to be worked out in consultation with both industrial and Indian leaders, certain principles appear as important for such a plan:

   a. Eligibility should be based on a certification by the President of the Indian Development Corporation (described below) that the enterprise would make a significant contribution to reducing unemployment on the reservation. Only firms employing a minimum of ten Indians or with Indians comprising 10 percent of their labor force of over 100 should be eligible. The purpose of the certification is to limit the credit to firms contributing to Indian development.

   b. The tax credit should be limited to a maximum of $1,200 per 12 man months of Indian employment. For purposes of relating the credit to the degree of adversity in economic conditions, reservations should be classified into four categories. Some reservations should be ineligible for credit; others should be eligible for a credit of $300, $800, or $1,200 per 12 man months of

Indian employment based on the expected difficulty in attracting industry. The president of the Indian Development Corporation would be responsible for making the classification based on recommendations made by an advisory committee composed of qualified businessmen, economists and other experts. One year after the classification was announced, it would be reviewed for possible adjustments and reviewed biannually thereafter. However, once a firm received a certification for a specified tax credit, it should not be changed.

c. The tax credit should be limited to ten years for each new enterprise established, with 1978 as the cutoff date for establishing eligibility.

d. The credit should be applied only in the years in which Indians are employed and only against the tax liability for the specific plant in which Indians are employed.

3. National benefit of tax credit proposal: The net effect upon the nation's economy would be beneficial whether or not a high general employment level prevailed.

A general assumption is that the U.S. economy will continue to operate at a high level of employment, and that any labor displaced by industry relocating on Indian reservations is mobile and will find employment elsewhere. Because of the structural character of Indian unemployment, there is no "opportunity cost" for Indian labor, as Indians employed by industry locating on a reservation would not be giving up other jobs, or if they did would be leaving a vacancy that could be readily filled by other less skilled and unemployed Indians.

Assuming that the annual wages for Indians employed by industrial firms average $3,000, the net benefit to the economy would be somewhere between that figure and about $1,800 a year. The initial benefit would be the $3,000 wage itself. Against that should be set the net cost to the economy incurred from locating plant facilities on a reservation rather than elsewhere in the country, e.g., additional transportation, incentive pay to management for living on a reservation, and possibly some under-utilization of plant capacity off the reservation. Together these items might amount to as much as $1,200 per Indian job. Because the tax credit is only a transfer of funds from one group to another in the country, it would not be real cost to the economy.

If, on the other hand, the economy were not at a high level of employment, the relocation would result in a net cost to the economy because the wages provided would not in themselves be a clear gain. However, a significant number of the industries that are expected to locate on Indian reservations are the type that in the absence of the tax credit would locate outside the U.S. (The two largest industrial employers on reservations, employing 450 and 225 Indians respectively, are firms that were planning to locate plants outside the U.S. until they were persuaded to locate on reservations.) The benefit to the economy of each Indian employed by this type of firm would be $3,000 plus increasing the demand for goods in the rest of the country (estimated to equal the Indian wage), giving a minimal benefit of $6,000 per employed Indian. Thus, in a depressed employment situation, assuming again that the relocating costs could reach a maximum of $1,200 per job, if only one job out of six were provided by industry that would otherwise locate outside the U.S., the net effect for the economy would still be beneficial.

In sum, the tax credit would increase total employment and production in the United States. Without it, some of the production and income will not be realized at all, and some will be carried abroad by firms unable to find the necessary type of labor in this country. Whatever the effect on tax revenues from this additional production, the government would also reduce the costs of relief expenditures now being made to support impoverished Indians on the reservations.

4. *Depreciation allowances:* Much of the industry attracted to reservations as a result of the employment tax credit will be highly labor intensive and have relatively low skill requirements. Resulting wage rates will be low in relation to general industrial wages. In order to attract industry with higher skill requirements and to present Indians with the opportunity to develop higher paying skills, a rapid depreciation schedule should be provided. Such a schedule might follow the lines of the special depreciation schedules during the Korean war. To prevent misuse of the rapid depreciation authority, a firm would have to obtain a certification from the President of the Indian Development Corporation that the installation of equipment on a reservation would benefit Indian employment.

5. *Credit financing:* Whether measured by ratio of investment to population or investment to natural resources, Indian reservations are drastically undercapitalized. A significant portion of the capital required to develop the 60,000 jobs needed by 1977 must be provided or backed by the Federal Government. A variety of forms of credit should be authorized to provide a spectrum of instruments to finance job-creating enterprises. There are at least three specific needs of such credit:

a. Credit is needed for construction of factory buildings and related facilities on reservations to offer modern plants at reasonable rentals to interested industries. Municipalities throughout the country now finance, through tax-exempt bonds, facilities of this type. Indian tribes lack the credit standing or the authority to issue bonds for these purposes. To compete for plant location, Indian tribes must be on at least an equal footing with municipalities.

b. Credit is needed for financing the establishment of Indian-owned enterprises such as for housing construction. With technical assistance, tribes should be able to start natural resource-based and service industries.

c. Credit is needed for starting small business enterprises. As the rate of economic activity on reservations increases, individual Indians will be encouraged to start service activities. Private credit is not generally available on reasonable terms to Indians. Hence, two things are needed: (1) authority to guarantee private loans and (2) authority and funds to enable the Indian Development Corporation to make direct loans.

In order to provide for this level and type of credit, innovative approaches must be utilized. To move in this direction, I would recommend:

a. Legislation authorizing an Indian Development Corporation, initially to issue $200 million of bonds backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. Government. The bonds should be in two series: one, to fund projects for which a municipality could issue tax-exempt bonds, and another to fund other direct lending operations of the Corporation. A 40-year amortization period should be authorized, and up to a ten-year development period during which payment of interest and principal could be deferred.

b. The Indian Development Corporation should be authorized to sell short-term securities to tribes as an inducement for them to invest up to $150 million which are now held in Treasury trust funds.

c. The Indian Development Corporation should be authorized to guarantee loans to tribal corporations and individual Indians along the lines of H.R. 9323 of the 89th Congress, and to make grants in conjunction with loans along the lines of H.R. 9323 for small business enterprises only.

d. An initial appropriation of $50 million should be authorized to the Indian Development Corporation as a fund for paying guarantee and insurance claims and to meet deferred interest and principal payments on outstanding loans.

e. In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Revolving Loan Fund should be transferred to the Indian Development Corporation and be merged with the Corporation's credit operations. Additional direct appropriations should not be requested for the Revolving Fund since funds will be available from the receipts of bond sales.

6. Planned industrial communities: An additional economic development program would suggest that independent financing should be used to establish planned industrial communities on Indian reservations to help demonstrate to industry the potentialities for locating plants on reservations.

Especially at the early stage of the ten-year development period, it will be difficult to bring together the sources of financing suggested above to permit experimentation in the formation of new model communities, and to avoid harmful effects to haphazard community growth. A special $10 million grant to the Indian Development Corporation could provide necessary leverage, above and beyond other financial resources available from housing, education, and other programs.

It is important to develop a concept that goes beyond merely providing physical facilities. We should seek to create the opportunity for imaginative organizations to suggest how a specific group of Indians can organize itself into an economically viable community—even to the extent of suggesting how the community should govern itself. Flexibility and freedom to try new ideas should be the hallmark of the effort.

Since the communities are being developed primarily to create jobs, the Indian Development Corporation should have overall responsibility for the grants. It should invite proposals from business, nonprofit and any other interested groups, for the development of one new and one existing Indian community. Each should be in separate sections of the country to obtain the greatest demonstration value. Communities of about 2,000 and 5,000 should be specified to show applicability to different size populations. The grant might be divided—$3 million for the smaller community and $7 million for the larger.

To obtain maximum participation, a two-stage process is suggested. First, proposals should be invited for a general feasibility plan for the development of an Indian community. Four of the best plans, as determined by a panel of experts, might be purchased at $50,000 each. The organizations submitting these plans would then be asked to develop detailed proposals for the communities. From these four proposals, two would be chosen for development. The winning organizations could have responsibility for managing the development phase (assuming they were judged to be competent to do so and the affected tribes concurred).

Obviously, an appropriation of $10 million would have to be authorized for this demonstration program for the design and establishment of two Indian economic growth centers.

B. The Indian Development Corporation.—Although economic development has been a major goal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in recent years, and job-creating programs have been initiated, these efforts have not been able to cope with the population increase and the declined in employment available to Indians in agriculture, let alone the large backlog of unemployed Indians. A new organization at the national level is needed to administer the incentives described above and create 60,000 new jobs for Indians by 1977. Leadership can best be provided by a Federally-chartered Indian Development Corporation (IDC) with broad responsibilities to promote economic development on Indian reservations.

The IDC's major concern would be to mobilize the energy and know-how of the private business sector. The image and visibility of the organization would be important in eliciting business cooperation. A corporate organization would permit businessmen to participate in the direction of the programs through membership on the board of directors (as described below). In addition, the corporate form of organization, which is familiar to businessmen, would be an advantage in the many contracts that would result from industrial promotion, credit, and economic incentive programs.

Stability in administration, funding, and leadership are needed to convince Indian tribes that the Federal Government is sincere in its development programs. Primarily reliance on bond financing rather than annual appropriations, and the Indian participation on the board of directors of the corporation would help meet these requirements.

The personnel needed to administer a development program of the scope required are not available in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and are not likely to be attracted there. I fear that the imagination and drive needed to initiate the new programs would not be forthcoming if they were simply added to the responsibilities of BIA. The economic development program will need to be closely meshed with other BIA activities, but it is a clearly separate part that should be carried on elsewhere if the necessary forward movement is to be achieved.

1. Organization: The IDC should be governed by a 15-man board of directors appointed by (and to serve at the pleasure of) the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. A membership along the following lines is suggested:

six Indian members
five businessmen
two educators
Commissioner of Indian Affairs
a senior official in the Department of Commerce

The president of the Corporation should be selected by the Board of Directors. He would be the Corporation's chief executive officer with direct responsibility for its management.

The IDC will need a Washington and a field staff to carry on its contact work with the proposed individual tribal development corporations. This staff, which may ultimately reach several hundred, should include economists, specialists in industrial credit and promotion, business and management training and industrial processes. To maintain a private business orientation, a number of the staff should be obtained from business to serve a two- or three-year tour of duty. (Retired industry executives may be a good source of highly qualified personnel.) The IDC should be exempt from the classification act and the civil service personnel system to permit maximum flexibilty in its staffing. Arrangements might be worked out whereby IDC would make payments to the retirement system of a private company or the Federal retirement system while an employee was working on the staff of the Corporation. The expenses and staff of the Corporation should be financed by a regular annual appropriation.

2. Aims and functions: The aims of the IDC should be, first, to encourage and promote business firms to establish on or near Indian reservations industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises that increase the economic opportunities open to members of the Indian tribes; and, second, to encourage and promote Indian ownership and management of industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises.

In pursuing these aims, IDC would carry out the following functions:

a. Managing the industrial incentives program described in section A above. In addition to classifying reservations for the employment tax credit, this would involve making certifications of eligibility for each firm that wanted to obtain the employment tax credit and the rapid depreciation allowances;

b. Carrying on an intensive industrial promotion campaign to persuade industry to locate on Indian reservations;

c. Chartering tribal development corporations which would be the on-reservation organizations to promote and establish business ventures;

d. Aiding the tribal development corporations by:

(1) Helping prepare reservation profiles for industrial promotion.

(2) Making grants to them for general economic surveys and project feasibility studies. In connection with these grants, IDC would develop and maintain a Roster of Competence of individuals and organizations capable of providing responsible planning assistance to the tribal corporations. Use of consultants on this list would be mandatory for studies funded by IDC grants.

(3) Providing loans to them for financing industrial plants and support facilities which could be leased to industries locating on reservations.

(4) Making loans to tribal corporations to finance tribal and individually owned Indian business enterprises. Along with this IDC would provide technical assistance.

(5) Conducting leadership and management training for the boards of directors and officers of the tribal corporations and the managers or potential managers of tribal enterprises.

(6) Carrying on relevant research.

In conclusion then, I would suggest that Congress authorize a Federally-chartered Indian Development Corporation with broad responsibility to promote economic development on Indian reservations. BIA's credit and industrial promotion activities should be transferred to this corporation.

3. Tribal development corporations: The tribal development corporations are the on-reservation instruments for promoting and initiating economic development. They should be organized under a charter obtained from IDC with a Board of Directors appointed by a tribal council for fixed terms. Non-Indians with business experience should be included on the Board. The corporations should have the usual qualities of corporations in that they could sue and be sued, enter into contractual agreements, etc. Their primary responsibilities would include:

a. Preparing and keeping current the necessary plans for development;

b. Developing in conjunction with the IDC a package of incentives that could be offered as an inducement to industry to locate on a reservation. For example, the tribal corporation might offer to lease a building and equipment to a company—financing them by a loan from IDC.

c. Establishing Indian enterprises to develop tribal forest, recreation or other resources. The tribal corporation probably would take the project through the feasibility study stage and then hire a manager (initially many tribes would have to rely on non-Indians for management) to set up and run the enterprise. While we expect IDC to recognize the developmental character of these Indian enterprises and, therefore, to be liberal in providing credit and technical assistance, the enterprises must be able to demonstrate economic viability after a development period.

d. Providing credit for individually owned Indian businesses. The tribal corporations would act as a relending agent for IDC. This is not expected to be a large activity, but it is important to the small Indian farmer or businessman who does not have access to normal commercial credit.

e. Managing tribal lands. The arrangement here could be flexible. A tribal council could turn over all or part of the management to a tribal development corporation or retain a veto power over certain aspects, such as long-term leasing or mineral rights. Using a tribal corporation would remove management from the pressure of tribal politics and encourage more productive use of tribal assets.

f. Establishing tribal construction firms. As will be indicated later, housing construction offers a most promising way of providing jobs quickly on Indian reservations. The need for housing is great and the skill requirements, if extensive use is made of pre-assembly techniques, can be acquired rather rapidly. On-the-job training programs should be used to permit Indians to acquire necessary construction skills. The idea is to move as rapidly as possible in establishing a functioning construction organization, relying initially on non-Indian management if necessary. Because of the urgent unemployment situation on reservations, Indian labor should be given preference for jobs in housing construction.

I believe more Indian employment will be generated if the Indians themselves establish housing construction enterprises, but the requirement to use Indian labor should also apply for housing built by private contractors on reservations.

C. Planning.—Indian tribes and the Bureau of Indian Affairs have been involved in a number of planning efforts in recent years. The two major ones have been the development of 10-year reservation programs requested by the Secretary of the Interior in 1964, and the preparation of Overall Economic Development Plans required for participation in programs of the Economic Development Administration.

The quality of these efforts has varied widely, but even the best of these plans do not provide an adequate foundation for an economic development program.

Recently, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has tried a new approach to planning in developing an estimate of the existing and potential capacity of the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation to support the dependent population. This brief study focuses on the essential elements for development and is an example of a useful first step in development planning.

The IDC should have an adequate fund, say $15 million, for grants to tribal development corporations for economic development planning.

The grants would be used for three levels of planning 1. an economic strategy plan for the reservation, 2. a reservation profile (including special studies such as mineral inventories and skill surveys), and 3. project feasibility studies. Each of these types of planning is discussed in detail below. Grants for planning should be made on an application basis except for an initial amount that should be allocated to a tribe upon forming an acceptable tribal development corporation. Allocation of the initial grants should follow a schedule to be developed by the Indian Development Corporation. A maximum of $4.5 million would be used for those initial grants. The remainder should be used to finance, on a full cost basis, the preparation of reservation profiles, special studies necessary to fill out the reservation profiles, and project feasibility studies. A tribe should contribute financially to this planning phase of development by providing the initial operating expenses of a tribal development corporation.

Each tribal development corporation should use the initial grant for the preparation of a reservation profile and, if appropriate, for an economic strategy plan. Further financial assistance should be conditioned on the tribal developments corporation submitting an acceptable economic strategy plan to IDC. The plan should be descriptive of the reservation area, the population and labor force, principal economic activities, and the area's resources. A primary emphasis should be on identifying the number of jobs needed during the next ten years to provide a high level of employment for the tribe. All of the economic planning done by the tribal development corporation should be directly related to reducing the gap between present employment and the jobs needed to attain a level of employment comparable to the rest of the economy by 1977.

1. Economic strategy plan: The tribal development corporation should take the lead in its preparation with full participation by the tribal council, IDC, the BIA, and other relevant agencies. The plan should be comprehensive in its coverage of development possibilities without trying to provide an in-depth analysis of each. To keep from getting bogged down in a long planning process, a tribal development corporation should try to complete the plan in less than

six months using existing data together with contributions from people familiar with the reservation and its potential for development.

The heart of the plan should be a strategy for eliminating the gap between present employment and future high-level employment through a series of action proposals, such as:

a. Investment to expand existing economic activity or to establish a housing construction enterprise,

b. Vocational training to qualify Indians for on-or near-reservation jobs or for out-migration,

c. A package of inducements to a non-reservation resource based industry to locate a plant on the reservation.

The plan must treat realistically the various constraints (financial, time, manpower, etc.) within which an action program must be devised. Inattention to constraints has been a major fault of previous Indian planning. Finally, the plan should focus on actions with the highest job creating payoff and provide a schedule of priorities for action.

Primarily, the plan is a guide for the tribal corporation's action program. It is the focal point for inter-relating the many variables on which successful economic development depends and it should serve as a working outline of an array of priorities for action by the tribal corporation. Updating the plan on at least an annual basis will be necessary to maintain it as an effective guide to action.

Indian Development Corporation must ensure that each economic strategy plan provides a reasoned set of proposals for eliminating the reservation employment gap. Then the plan can serve as a guide to IDC in making grants for project feasibility studies and the preparation of reservation profiles.

2. Reservation profile: The reservation profile should be the basic document for promoting the location of industry on Indian reservations. Several types of profiles are needed. A profile emphasizing the availability and abilities of the labor force should be prepared for reservations desiring to attract labor intensive operations with low product transportation costs. If a reservation has an abundance of natural resources, special climatic conditions, or a strategic location in terms of markets or some other unusual competitive advantage, special-purpose profiles, directed at a particular industry or industrial group, should be prepared. The IDC should provide technical and financial assistance to the tribal corporations for these special-purpose profiles.

The profile must focus on selling a particular reservation as a profitable location for industry. It should include information on the following:

a. Population and labor distribution.

b. Labor availability and skill on and near the reservation.

c. Educational levels.

d. Housing.

e. Cultural characteristics of relevance to the subject.

f. Utilities and public facilities.

g. Transportation.

h. Inventory of reservation natural resources.

i. The nature of extent of tribal and Federal Government assistance available to industry locating on the reservations.

j. The nature and jurisdiction of tribal government.

Where reliable information is lacking, surveys should be made. Many reservations appear to need labor or skill surveys.

The type and depth of information gathering should be governed by the priorities in the previously discussed economic strategy plan. For example, although a complete natural resources inventory may be desirable for the profile, the cost and time required for making one must be weighted against alternative efforts to attract job-creating economic activity.

3. Project feasibility studies: The project feasibility study is the final step in the planning process. It must provide a tribal corporation or a firm with a profitability analysis sufficiently comprehensive to enable management to make a decision on whether or not to undertake an enterprise. The importance of the feasibility study in subsequent decision-making and financing necessitates careful selection of the personnel making the study. IDC should require the tribal corporations to use personnel or firms on its Roster of Competence for feasibility studies financed by its grants. Because these studies are relatively costly, IDC should attempt to screen out unpromising projects before going to a full feasibility study.

D. Leadership and training.—Any economic development program must depend upon an adequate number of leaders—Indian as well as non-Indian. If the anticipated gains are to endure, an increasing number of Indian leaders must be developed with the skills needed for operating in the modern economic and political setting. But one must also be aware of the opportunity the economic development programs offer for increasing Indian leadership and vocational skills.

There are, of course, Indian leaders of the highest quality now available. However, programs have sometimes been delayed or foundered for lack of a sufficient number of leaders among the Indians. If the envisioned economic activity becomes a reality, the present number of leaders will be far too few in number.

As tribal development corporations and other ventures begin to grow, the existing leadership will undoubtedly assume control. These exercises in leadership should be available for observation by potential Indian leaders from other tribes. These potential leaders should be exposed to good projects, ably led, by several weeks' stay at the projects. During these 2-3 week visits, discussions could center on the problems of community organization, Federal and state programs which are relevant, techniques for sharing responsibility, etc.

The major focus should be that of learning by exposure to success situations involving peer groups or those with whom there is true identification. Financing and general guidance for this program should be provided by the IDC.

The tribal corporations could at the very outset establish a training program for junior management and leadership positions. These programs could be started at an existing institute such as Haskell in Lawrence, Kansas. Other traditional Indian training institutions beyond high school could be used. Other organizations which have heavy interests in Indian problems and are properly equipped, such as Arizona State University, could also provide these types of courses.

In essence, these courses would be geared to provide very basic training in such fields as accounting business practices and law, and business management for those Indians who have demonstrated some leadership ability and interest, probably at the high school level. These programs could also include trips to functioning programs on Indian reservations where economic development is a key focus.

It may also be that field trips to educational institutions which have an important ingredient of management and accounting could be utilized. The important point is to expose individuals to already ongoing and established programs where some administration and business practices are involved and to the utilization of managerial functions.

There should also be established an apprenticeship training program in junior management positions in tribal government programs. In some instances, the tribal governments themselves represent an important learning mechanism for management and leadership. This type of training should be supported by the existing BIA and tribal scholarship grants or on-the-job training grants under the adult vocational training program. Young people who are interested in moving into managerial positions could be trained in an apprenticeship-type position within established tribal governments. The National Institute of Public Affairs in Washington, D.C., which is concerned with the same problem of training young people for management positions in the Federal, state and local government agencies could be looked to for guidance as well as actual operation of training programs.

It is also possible that a number of young Indians who have left reservations to seek their fortunes elsewhere may still have ties with the reservation. When tribal development corporations or other types of ventures are underway, this potential supply of leaders could be given incentives to return to the reservation to function in a leadership capacity.

E. Immediate measures to decrease unemployment.—The above measures will require a few years for their full impact to be felt. In the interim, immediate measures are needed to reduce male unemployment on reservations, which is now about 40 percent.

I would recommend that $20 million be provided for a combined on-the-job training and public-works program to provide immediate employment on Indian reservations and to upgrade the skills of many of the unskilled unemployed.

The projects should, of course, contribute to solution of the transportation, public health, and housing needs of the people. In addition, some unemployment might be alleviated—and employability of many Indians enhanced—by enrolling unskilled unemployed in pre-vocational training programs of up to two years duration for which they would receive stipends at the same rates as unemployment compensation.

HOUSING AS A MAJOR SOURCE OF EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

The housing conditions of Indians and Alaskan natives are worse than those of any other minority group in the nation. Of the 76,000 houses on Indian reservations and trust lands at least ¾ are below minimum standards of decency. These shelters, such as they are, are grossly overcrowded and more than half are too dilapidated to repair. Virtually, all the shelter of Alaskan natives is unsound, dangerously overcrowded, and unfit to live in. The conditions under which most Indians live not only threatens their life, health and morale, but are a major contributing factor to their continuing poverty and their isolation from the fruits of constructive change and progress. Up to 1961 little visible effort was made to alleviate the housing problems of the American Indian. More recently, the problem has been acknowledged and from a large inventory of national housing devices several, at long last, have been involved that are proving of slight help. The number of dwelling units provided, however, has been miniscule in relation to the need. Housing construction for these families, about 1,000 to 1,500 units annually, are not even keeping pace with deterioration, decaying and population growth. The Housing Assistance Administration (HAA) is administering the program which has been providing the bulk of the new housing for Indians, such as it is. Indicative of the response is that 80 Indian tribes have organized housing authorities and applied for grants for some 5,500 homes. Half of these homes are low-rent public housing projects and the other half are mutual self-help undertakings. The low-rent projects of which 960 dwelling units have been completed and of which 301 are under construction, cost an average of $17,500 and require rent payments equal to 1/5 of the family income. But they are only serving the upper 1/10 of Indian families.

The self-help undertakings are being built with contributed Indian land and labor under supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and with materials, equipment, and skills paid for from HAA funds. One hundred thirty-six units have been completed at an average unit cost of $9,300 and 315 are under construction. Rents are upward of $7 monthly plus utilities, and ownership is possible, on the average after 17 years of payments. The program is small but it marks an important beginning.

Housing Assistance Administration has been recently considering a turnkey approach under which a tribal housing authority will agree to buy houses designed and built by a private contractor. Housing Assistance Administration feels that this will produce houses faster and up to 20 percent cheaper. If it is successful and substantial it could offer a helpful prospect to a group of Americans that has too long been neglected in the march of progress.

Other housing programs from the general inventory of federal housing aids have also been helpful although not too substantial. In the period 1960–65 only 393 Federal Housing Administration insured loans were made to Indian families. In the same period only 124 home-construction loans were made by the Farmers Home Administration and despite the large number of Indian war veterans, few have qualified for the Veterans Administration Mortgage Guarantee Program. In addition, BIA, through its revolving credit funds, has made loans for both new housing and housing improvement indirectly through the tribes, but between 1960 and 1965, only 1,200 Indian families benefited with new homes. BIA, between 1963–1966, has produced 368 new homes for the most severely handicapped families, mainly in the northern tier of states. OEO is sponsoring experimental programs. One is on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota involving 375 units of minimum standard at an overall cost of $5,000. The other project at 3 Minnesota reservations is designed to train Indians in the building trades. The costs per unit are expected to be $11,400. OEO and the Manpower Development Training Program will expend $6,600 per unit for supervision and training costs. A few Indian tribes have also set aside specific sums for new housing and home improvement, but these too have been of minor significance in relation to the total situation. The $10 million authorized in 1966 for the housing of Alaskans at maximum per unit cost of $7,500 will provide homes for no more than about 1,300 native families.

If all of the programs mentioned were carried to their maximum projection and if all of the HAA assisted dwellings were completed in a year, it would be hardly more than a demonstration! The rate of building would not keep pace with the continuing deterioration and dilapidation, needs resulting from families moving to centers of employment, and continuing population growth. Impediments to more rapid progress in the housing field are certainly not a part of the focus of this particular study having to do with employment and training. It is interesting to note, however, that one of the causes of the Federal Government's housing dollar not going as far as it should results from the Davis-Bacon policy having to do with wage structures. Indian housing costs are often inflated by as much as 25 percent by the Department of Labor's current policy of determining prevailing Davis-Bacon wages for construction under government contract. Under this policy union scales prevailing for commercial construction in urban centers becomes a standard rather than prevailing wages for housing construction in the private sector on or near the reservation. Wage rates for housing construction on the Arizona side of the Navajo Reservation, for example, are based on the Phoenix rate plus a travel increment, bringing the total hourly wage for a common laborer to $5.74 an hour, or more than *double* the prevailing rate on the reservation.

A number of experts concerned with Indian housing have indicated that over a 10-year period roughly 100,000 units, of which approximately 80,000 units are new, would have to be provided for the housing needs of the Indian population. The difference of about 20,000 units would presumably be those which have to be repaired, renovated, or extended in some manner. If we are to assume that an average unit might cost in the neighborhood of $10,000, then a program of approximately $1 billion is indicated. Not only is this a massive expenditure, *but it is also an opportunity for a massive training program.* Housing and transportation, as well as the shopping centers which should be concomitant with a major housing effort, represent an opportunity for the infusion of new and more meaningful apprenticeship training programs and MDTA as well as on-the-job training programs in all reservation areas calling for this additional housing. Beyond the housing itself, however, it must be understood that the roads and the communication nets which would have to be established to service these new communities could become the basis for training in a number of areas in the construction fields. This training opportunity, of course, would call for a major change with regard to the use of force account.

Prior to 1953 most of the construction projects on Indian reservations utilized manpower on those reservations. During the middle and late 50's, however, there was a radical move away from the use of force account in the direction of commercial contracts involving employees from outside the Indian areas. In the recommendations of the Task Force on Indian Affairs in 1961 it was recommended that "wherever contracts are let for construction on Indian reservations, the Bureau of Indian Affairs or tribal government should insist that these contracts contain clauses giving employment preference to local residents. To do so will not violate Executive policy with respect to fair employment practices, since the basis for employment preference will not be racial." Since this report was issued, steps have been taken to increase the force-account participation in contract work on the reservations. For example, by November of 1966 road construction had been converted from 100 percent contractor to about 50 percent force account and 50 percent contract. And it is estimated that during 1966 almost 1,500 man-years of Indian labor were generated by this change. The Housing Improvement Program was initiated in 1964 and was 100 percent force account. The Building and Utilities Construction Program has remained generally unchanged with about 94 percent carried out by contract. Except for large complicated projects, the Alaska work has continued to be done by force account.

As a result then, we have begun to move in the direction of more force account; and in some types of construction, the force-account proportion is quite high. This, however, should be continued; and, in the event of a major housing effort, force account should be utilized not only for the immediate labor input but as a means of coupled, on-the-job, and institutional training programs. The housing needs of the Indian population represents a dramatic opportunity which, if it is seized upon, can become a major training ground in the construction trades with opportunities resulting not only for continued employment on the reservation, but for employment in the various construction trades in cities to which young Indians may move in the future.

REORGANIZING FOR MORE EFFECTIVE INDIAN PROGRAMS

In closing I would like to concentrate on one major remaining issue. This is the issue having to do with the adequacy of the present location of federal organizations dealing with Indian problems.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has been in the Department of the Interior since 1849, the year the Department was established (it was previously in the War Department). Until 1955, the Bureau was responsible for providing all Federal services to Indians. In 1955 the responsibility for providing health services was transferred to the Public Health Service, where it currently rests. (However, the appropriation for the Division of Indian Health is not reviewed by the subcommittees responsible for the Public Health Service appropriation; it is considered by those responsible for the Bureau of Indian Affairs appropriation.)

In fiscal year 1966, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had an employment ceiling of 15,951 and an appropriation of $207.6 million. All but 300 of the Bureau's staff are located in the field. As can be seen from the attached table, over 9,000 people and $109 million—i.e., 57 percent of the people and 53 percent of the budget—were required for the education function. In the same year, the Division of Indian Health employed 5,740 people and had an appropriation of $81.3 million. Thus, two-thirds of the people and two-thirds of the funds are required to provide education and health services to Indians. If welfare, guidance, relocation and vocational training services are added, three-quarters of the aggregate appropriation for Indians is allocated to health, education and welfare functions.

In addition to these appropriations, in the past few years several other agencies have initiated significant programs affecting Indians. The Office of Economic Opportunity and affiliated agencies obligated $31.9 million in fiscal year 1966 for projects benefiting about 100 tribes in 23 states. The Housing Assistance Administration has provided $17 million for public housing—both for low-rent and mutual self-help—on Indian reservations in fiscal years 1964 through 1966. The Economic Development Administration made available $2.3 million in fiscal year 1966. The Office of Education provides funds to the public schools in which 100,000 Indian children are being educated, but data are not available on the amounts benefiting Indians from their various programs—particularly under Public Laws 874 and 815 (Federal impact areas) and PL 89-10 (the Elementary and Secondary Education Act).

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

APPROPRIATIONS AND EMPLOYMENT

[Dollar amounts in millions]

	Appropriations			
	1956	1961	1966	1966 employment
Education				9,116
Operation	$39.0	$55.5	$87.0	----------
Construction	5.0	12.0	22.0	----------
Welfare and guidance	3.8	6.9	13.5	388
Law and order	.4	1.3	2.9	276
Road:				
Maintenance	2.3	2.8	3.8	338
Construction	4.7	9.5	17.5	970
Relocation and vocational training	7.0	6.5	14.5	471
Management and development of trust property	8.4	14.0	17.8	1,688
Agricultural extension	.9	1.2	1.8	55
Credit assistance	.4	.3	1.6	141
Tribal operations and reservation programs	.3	.7	2.9	226
Irrigation: Construction and operation	3.7	4.7	13.3	834
Construction and maintenance of buildings	.8	1.6	2.8	398
Industrial development			.7	50
Housing development			.8	95
General administration and other	2.7	4.0	4.7	960
Total	74.4	121.0	207.6	15,951

DIVISION OF INDIAN HEALTH—HEW

	1956	1961	1966	1966 employment
Medical care:				
Operation	$33.8	$49.7	$67.2	5,740
Construction	5.0	9.7	14.1	----------
Total	38.8	59.4	81.3	5,740

In the material analyzed and evaluated in the preparation of this paper, the writer could not help but be impressed by:

A. The lack of socio-economic data about Indians.—Considering the continuity of responsibility for so many years and the extraordinary complexity of the problems for which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been responsible, the discovery that such data were not available comes as a real shock to any researcher. The Bureau has no really hard data on population dynamics, income, employment, education, etc. It has few benchmarks against which to measure progress, and more importantly, grossly inadequate data on which to base economic development and manpower programs.

B. The total lack of research.—A related matter, equally shocking is the total absence of any research and demonstration funds in the BIA budget. A sensitivity to social science research and the linkages between Research & Demonstration and program innovation has not existed in the past in BIA. Apparently the Department of the Interior has not served to catalyze such an interest by providing any resource stimulus.

C. The absence of consultants.—The Department of the Interior and the BIA apparently were, in the past, untroubled by their lack of access to consultants. Interior's departmental appropriation bill restricts total annual expenditures for consultants to $200,000 (slightly over one-tenth of one percent of its $1.5 billion budget). BIA, which accounts for 15 percent of the Interior Department's total budget, is allocated $6,500 for consultants, or about 3 percent for the consultant funds. Not surprisingly, the BIA makes very little use of consultants. (By way of contrast, HEW had $5,572,000 allocated for consultants in fiscal year 1967: twenty-seven times the amount of Interior's allocation, although its budget is only ten times greater then Interior's.)

D. The organizational status and location of the Bureau.—The Commissioner of the BIA reports to the Assistant Secretary of Land Development. But the central concern of the BIA today is *human* resource development, not land management. It was only a year ago, in mid-1966, that the educational function was elevated in status from a branch to a diviison—this despite the fact that over half the BIA staff and half its budget are devoted to education.

On the basis of the foregoing, two conclusions would appear to be called for, at least to the writer:

I. Primary responsibility for Indian Affairs should be transferred from the Secretary of Interior to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare;

II. All of the functions currently assigned to the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be transferred to a single new agency in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This new agency should have a direct reporting channel to the Secretary, probably through an Administrator for Indian Affairs.

The transfer of overall responsibility for Indian Affairs to HEW would place executive branch responsibility in the department best equipped to develop effective programs to meet the needs of the Indian people, because it is the department responsible for related programs for the general public. HEW programs emphasize human development as contrasted with Interior's program emphasis on conservation and natural resources. (The recent transfer of the water pollution responsibility from HEW to Interior was clearly consistent with this recommendation.)

The Indian Affairs functions consist of two types of activities: (1) providing to Indians on reservations most of the services the rest of the population receives from state or local governments; and (2) serving as trustee in matters subject to Federal trusteeship authority.

The major services in the former category are in the area of education, health, welfare, and resource management. The first three of these services account for 75 percent of the BIA budget. They clearly are activities which can obtain stronger policy and technical support in HEW than they can in Interior.

While the trusteeship category is associated primarily with land management, by and large, BIA carries out its responsibilities largely independent of other Interior agencies. Many of the activities, for example, involve the welfare staff of BIA and the Department's legal staff on such matters as settlement of estates, guardianship of minors and incompetents with respect to income from any source, assistance in family budget planning and other counseling of adult Indians. BIA relies on the Geological Survey to advise on mineral leasing and to supervise oil and gas production on Indian lands, and it relies on other Interior agencies, such as the land records staff of the Bureau of Land Management to provide the same services they would to any other agency or to the general public. There is no reason why these services cannot continue to be provided by the same agencies in the same way if BIA were to be transferred to HEW.

BIA now has extensive working relationships with HEW agencies and the transfer to HEW would ease the extensive problem of interagency coordination.

Necessary coordination in the land and resource management agencies is less extensive and significant than that required in the areas of health, education, and welfare.

BIA also maintains continuous relationships with state education and welfare agencies whose primary Federal relationships are with HEW. The character of Indian welfare problems, frequently involving complex policies related to eligibility for assistance, has raised serious problems in Federal, state and local relationships. HEW, because of its close working relations with state education and welfare agencies, could be of great assistance in facilitating improved intergovernmental relations in the area of Indian Affairs.

Since this paper was to be concerned with training and employment, one might well wonder why the Department of Labor might not be a more logical site for an Indian training and employment program. The answer grows out of several complicating factors:

I. For a group of people with the diverse educational, culture, health, housing and employment problems of the Indian, the federal agency bearing primary responsibility for Indian programs, must itself be diverse and broad. Few would deny that the Department of HEW is broader in scope than the Department of Labor.

II. Viewed in a "system" context, job-training and employability for the Indian makes no sense unless it is seen in the framework of the fundamental educational, health and welfare programs supervised by HEW. Obviously, the Department of Labor and the Department of Housing and Urban Development will be consultant agencies, sharing programs and planning mutual objectives. Likewise, the Department of Commerce and other agencies concerned with economic development will similarly be called upon and be involved in relevant planning and programing.

III. Finally, the American Indian must be provided options from among which *he* will choose. But to bring him to the point of wise choice, all the services which HEW provides must first be available, *and in abundance*. to choose a life-skill and way of earning a living is complicated to the non-Indian. But to the Indian, a wise choice can only follow after a sufficient program of education, counseling, and involvement, if he chooses, in the way of the non-Indian culture. Only the Department of HEW among the federal agencies is philosophically equipped to perform this task.

For this suggested move of federal responsibility to take place with a fair chance of success, however, there is a serious warning. Such a move should only take place after lengthy educational, clarifying discussions with a broad representation of Indian tribes and Indian leaders. A transfer of responsibility without such involvement could easily be viewed by Indians, as a move paving the way for termination. Opposition would automatically follow. For another reason, however, this Indian involvement should follow. Most simply put, it is because it is about time this government broke its unfortunate tradition of dealing with Indians as though they are simple-minded children. The American Indians number amongst them a normal proportion of leaders and thoughtful citizens. The longer we continue to plan *for* them, without their involvement, the longer we will continue to be confronted with well-earned suspicion and failure of programs.

Senator FANNIN. I agree with Chairman Kennedy. These are excellent goals. They are commendable goals. I hope that we can establish the priorities. I know that we are reaching for something that perhaps would be very difficult to attain, for instance, No. 2. You say that the pupil-teacher ratio should be improved from 29 to 1 down to 15 to 1. I don't think we are being able to attain that in any schools around the country, but it is a goal, and I would think that we do have something to work toward from this list; and I hope we can establish some priorities in this regard. Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Mr. Overton James.

Mr. JAMES. Much of my presentation is not written, and just from notes, so I have none to turn in to you. Senator Kennedy, Senator Fannin, students of Oaks School, ladies and gentlemen, one thing I am inclined to believe is that Senator Kennedy is already part Indian, because we started on Indian time today.

Senator Kennedy of New York. You must have been appointed to this office, because you couldn't get elected with that joke. Go ahead, please.

STATEMENT OF OVERTON JAMES, FIELD REPRESENTATIVE, INDIAN DIVISION OF THE OKLAHOMA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Mr. James. I am Overton James, field representative for the Indian Division of the State department of education. I am also governor of the Chickasaw Nation. I am president of the Intertribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, president of the Choctaw-Chickasaw Confederation, member of the State Indian Affairs Commission's board of directors, and treasurer of Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, and I am about $99\frac{44}{100}$ percent Indian.

I am greatly honored to be here today and to share some of my ideas and opinions regarding Indian education with this special Senate subcommittee and distinguished spectators. We have a most unique setting in Oklahoma, as some of our previous speakers have touched on, and I am going to disagree with Senator Fannin. We have more people of Indian descent than any other State in the Union. We have no reservations. We have 67 different tribes represented, 34 with tribal organizations. We have two Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Offices, and we have the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, so named because they had made great advancements and progress in modern civilization and in complex tribal governments, in education and in Christianity, even before the heartbreaking treaties of the 1840's forced them west of the Mississippi to Indian territory, now Oklahoma and, of course, this was one of the blackest marches in American history, now referred to as the "Trail of Tears."

I am of the opinion that many of our distinguished lawmakers think that all Oklahoma Indians have one or more producing oil wells in their back yards, and that Oklahoma Indians are completely assimilated and accultured to the non-Indian society. Well, this is about as far from the truth as east is from the west.

In most all Federal legislation, assistance is directed at or slanted toward Indians who live on reservations, and we in Oklahoma have to struggle and fight to get special legislation or amendments so we as Oklahoma Indians can receive some of the benefits. Oklahoma Indians have a long, long way to go before we are out of the woods. However, we probably have a healthier Indian education situation here in Oklahoma than do most of the other reservation States.

Of our Indian students, 93 percent are attending public schools, and these are totally integrated schools attended by all races, not just schools operated and administered by the State. And I strongly favor and recommend public school attendance if at all possible.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How many Indians are on school boards in the State of Oklahoma?

Mr. James. I would have to hazard a guess, but I would say maybe 50.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How many school board members are there?

Mr. JAMES. There's three for each school district, and some of the school districts have five, so there would be somewhere between 1,800, 2,000 school board members.

Senator FANNIN. Aren't you talking about State schools now? You said something about schools that were not State schools. I thought these were all State schools that you are talking about.

Mr. JAMES. Yes, I am talking about the public schools operated by the State of Oklahoma. There is definitely, I feel, a place for our Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools and dormitory facilities in Oklahoma, because we have many, many Indian students who come from broken homes. They are orphans. They cannot or do not adjust to the public school situation. They are bounced out of the public schools; therefore, we have to have a place for them, and I feel that the Bureau of Indian Affairs is doing a real fine job in educating those type of students. And in the case of our dormitory facilities, they only live in the dormitories and they attend public school, which I think is a better situation, and to show you how well some of our dormitory students are doing, in 1966 there were six seniors to graduate from Carter Seminary, which is a dormitory facility down in the Chickasaw Nation, four entered Haskell out of the six; one entered Southeastern College at Durant and one entered Yale. That's a pretty good record.

Since 1947, the State of Oklahoma has assumed the responsibility of Indian education in our public schools under the Johnson-O'Malley program; and many factors, of course, are involved in our total education of the student, such as economic conditions, health conditions, and so forth, which I am not going to dwell upon. I am going to stay with education.

I feel that taking the State as a whole, we are doing a fairly good job in Indian education. Especially we are doing a good job considering the real small budget we have to operate on. And I think the same is true with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There was a time when the members of the Bureau of Indian Affairs sat in their offices, and you had to get an appointment if you wanted to see anyone, but this has greatly changed, especially with the coming of Virgil Harrington as director, because now they come to any tribal meeting they are invited to. They go out in the field. They go to the grassroots and get information rather than sit in the offices waiting for the Indian people to come to them. And I am going to disagree with some of our people, I am sure, who have appeared previously, but I am of the opinion that the only way you learn is by disagreeing. If we all agreed, we wouldn't learn very much.

In the Johnson-O'Malley public schools—maybe I'd better define that for some of the spectators. Our Johnson-O'Malley public schools are the public schools which have at least five eligible Indian students attending. To be an eligible Indian student, they must be of one-fourth or more degree Indian blood. They must live outside the corporate city limits, if the city is 500 or more, and they must be indigent students, and these are the schools that qualify under Johnson-O'Malley.

In the Johnson-O'Malley schools we have a total of 12,790 Indian students enrolled in 329 schools in 63 of our 77 counties. Our appropriation for the year 1966–67 was $475,000; $296,000 of this was paid for lunches, free lunches, reimbursed to the school for free lunches served the eligible Indian students, making up the biggest part of our budget. And under our present budget we can only reimburse the school 16 cents for each free meal that they serve the eligible Indian students. And we feel, or I feel, that this is not realistic. I feel that we should reimburse them the same amount they charge anyone else for the meal, but under the present budget we can only reimburse them to the tune of 16 cents.

The sum of $86,000 is spent for equalization enrichment, and that is for the schools which have Indian students and they have a real low valuation in their school district, and by levying a 5 mill levy, if they cannot raise $40 per student, then under our equalization program we will make up the difference between the $40 and what they can raise locally. And in most instances, this is the only enrichment money that the school has to operate on.

Thirty-six thousand dollars was spent for special programs, such as reducing class size, a remedial reading program, psychological services to the emotionally disturbed, and one visiting home coordinator.

And, of course, salaries included about $43,000.

Now, our one visiting home coordinator was so effective this one year, or part of the one year he worked, that we were able to hire this year eight, seven more visiting home coordinators, and we feel this is one of the greatest things that we have been to do in the State Department under the Johnson-O'Malley program. And our budget was increased about $75,000, which enabled us to do this.

We also spend special money for transportation in certain areas, and instructional supplies for our—and lunches for our students who are in the dormitories. In 1966–67, in our Johnson-O'Malley schools, we had 655 high school graduates and 1,184 eighth grade graduates, and we now have this year more than 1,000 Indian boys and girls who are attending academic colleges under the higher education grant program offered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs; and I understand that we receive about one-third of all the higher education grant money.

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. How many of those are Cherokees?

Mr. **JAMES**. I would say that out—that there are at least 400 Cherokees who are attending academic colleges, not all of them who are under the higher education grant, but I would say that at least 300 are attending under the Bureau's higher education grant program.

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. What is your definition of a Cherokee?

Mr. **JAMES**. One-fourth or more degree Indian blood.

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. There are 400 Indians who have a fourth or more Cherokee blood who are attending college?

Mr. **JAMES**. Yes.

Senator **FANNIN**. How many of those students are going into educational programs where they would be teachers?

Mr. **JAMES**. I would say that a large percent of them are, because many of them attend Northeastern State College at Tahlequah, and this is what they specialize in, training teachers.

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. How many Cherokee teachers are there?

Mr. **JAMES**. Pardon?

Senator **KENNEDY** of New York. How many Cherokee teachers are there at the moment?

Mr. **James**. Well, I would just have to make an educated guess, but I would say probably those who are one-fourth or more that we probably would have 150 teachers, at least, maybe 200.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. That's all in eastern Oklahoma?

Mr. **James**. No. They wouldn't be all in eastern Oklahoma.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. How many in eastern Oklahoma?

Mr. **James**. Well, I would probably say that two-thirds of them are in eastern Oklahoma, though.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. So you have about 125 Cherokee teachers in the school system?

Mr. **James**. I think that would be a very conservative estimate.

Senator **Fannin**. How many Indian people in the State of Oklahoma?

Mr. **James**. What are we going to call an Indian?

Senator **Fannin**. You use your definition and I will use mine, a fourth.

Mr. **James**. If we say a fourth or more, I would say that upward of 175,000 to 200,000.

Senator **Fannin**. The Bureau of Indian Affairs would probably dispute that figure, but that's all right. You use your figure in your State and I will use my figure in my State.

Mr. **James**. The reason is that the Bureau of Indian Affairs, of course, uses the figures of those who are eligible for their services; people who live in the cities and are removed from their natural areas, they are not included in the Bureau's figures.

Much has been said about the dropout problem, and very definitely it is something we should be concerned with, and I am inclined to believe that one of the major reasons for dropouts among our Indian students is more of a social problem, lack of social adjustment, more so than it is of lack of academic ability; and especially in these rural areas where they go one through eight in the rural school, then in the ninth grade they move into the junior high school in the city school. They move into the senior from the junior high. They have not had the growing up experience with these different youngsters and with the city youngsters, so I feel that it's more of a social adjustment than lack of academic ability when they start dropping out from the ninth and tenth grades.

Senator **Fannin**. What is your education program to correct that situation or help correct it?

Mr. **James**. We now have these eight visiting home coordinators whose primary duties and responsibilities is when a student is doing poorly in school or looks like he is on the verge of dropping out, attendance is becoming irregular, counsel with the parents in the home and with the student and see if there is anything that can be done to keep them in the classroom.

Senator **Fannin**. Does the counselor speak the Cherokee language?

Mr. **James**. In every case that we have, that we could, we employed Indian people.

Senator **Fannin**. It's very difficult for a counselor to communicate with the parents if they can't speak the language.

Mr. **James**. Yes. Out of the eight coordinators, four of them are Indian.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Have you almost completed your statement?

Mr. JAMES. Anytime. I was just going to give you the number of dropouts.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. That will be helpful.

Mr. JAMES. Because we hear everything from 75 percent on down, but according to the statistics reported to the Indian Division Education Office in Oklahoma City, we had a total of 610 dropouts in 1966–67, out of a total of 12,790 students, so this amounts to a 5 percent dropout rate, which I think is fairly low. Now, in high school we had 412 drop out; elementary school, we had——

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What do you have in high school?

Mr. JAMES. 412.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Out of how many?

Mr. JAMES. Out of 610 total.

Senato KENNEDY of New York. 610 what?

Mr. JAMES. Dropouts.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Out of how many students altogether?

Mr. JAMES. 12,790.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What is that percentage?

Mr. JAMES. About approximately 5 percent, maybe.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You state that you have a 5 percent dropout rate of Indians in your educational system?

Mr. JAMES. This is what has been reported to us in our office, and the only figures——

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Are you saying to the committee that that's what the dropout rate is?

Mr. JAMES. Well, I would have to, because these are the records we have.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you think those records are accurate?

Mr. JAMES. No; I don't. These are the public records which are available in our office.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You just said that you didn't think they were accurate.

Mr. JAMES. This is my personal feeling, though.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you want to come to the committee and give us a statement of fact as important as that and not believe it yourself, and you hold the position of Indian Education Specialist for the Oklahoma State Department of Education?

Mr. JAMES. It depends on whether you want my personal view or whether you want the actual situation as reported.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I would think that you would be reluctant. You suit yourself. Personally, I would never testify before a committee and give information which I didn't believe, but you go ahead and do what you like.

Mr. JAMES. I will make a few reservations here on this part of it. We do have some areas where that attendance is very, very poor and the dropout rate is extremely high and would run up to 50 to 60 percent.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I would say that the figures that you gave us are entirely contrary to the other information that we have.

Mr. James. This is true.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Then, I question why you come and give it to us, but go ahead.

Mr. James. I am inclined to believe that our dropout rate is not nearly as high as what some people say, because it depends upon what you call a dropout. Sometimes, you know, they go and count all the first graders, take the names on the register; if they are not there at graduation time 12 years later, then they consider them a dropout. But they move to other schools. They could be in the Bureau schools. They could be anywhere, which would not classify them as dropouts.

I can give you one instance in western Oklahoma where there is a school which has a total school enrollment of about 25 percent Indian; out of 500, they have about 125 Indian students, and in 40 years' time they have only had 11 graduates.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I am afraid that whatever other information or further testimony you have we will have to place in the record if you would send it to us in Washington. I appreciate your cooperation very much but we have just been told that we have to depart. We have one other witness. I would like to ask the representative of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to submit your statement, and we will place it in the record, and also if you want to submit it with any material in the future. May I say that anybody who has any information and statements that they would like submitted for the record, as we were not able to call everyone we would like, if you would send that information to us in Washington in the period of the next 3 weeks, that information and that testimony and that statement will be made a part of the hearing record.

(The material subsequently supplied for the record follows:)

Prepared Statement of Lonnie Hardin, Assistant Area Director (Education), Muskogee Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Approximately 95% of the Indian children in Eastern Oklahoma attend Public Schools. There are many conflicting reports as to the attendance, dropout rate and achievement of Indian children attending public schools in Eastern Oklahoma.

The following information was compiled by the Oklahoma Employment Service from the 1960 census:

		Oklahoma Indians	Oklahoma total population
Median school years completed		8.3	10.4
Attended or completed college	percent	8.0	17.6
Completed at least but no more than high school	do	14.0	22.9
Completed at least but no more than 8th grade	do	16.3	17.9

It is impossible to get reporting from all districts in the State enrolling Indian children. Many districts advise that reporting by race is impossilbe since their records do not specify the race of any student. Many districts receive no financial assistance for Indian students; therefore, they have no obligation for reporting.

The most recent information available was obtained from the school administrators of 86 school districts in Eastern Oklahoma. The schools reporting enrolled 4311 Cherokee Indian children in grades 1–12 with an average daily attendance of 3968. Ninety two percent of the students enrolled attended daily. In 1962 the average percent of attendance for the State of Oklahoma was 90.4.

Of the 4311 Cherokees enrolled in the 86 schools reporting, 201 were graduated from high school. By National averages 6% of all students enrolled in grades

1 through 12 are in the 12th grade. Based on this average, there should have been 259 Cherokees in the 12th grade. Approximately 78% of those, by National Average, who should have been in the 12th grade graduated.

A study was made of six schools enrolling 6401 students in grades 1–12 during the 1966–67 school term. 22% of the total enrollment were Cherokee. 20% of the graduating seniors were Cherokee.

Adair County in Oklahoma has the highest ratio of Indians to nonIndians of any County in the State. 23.3% of the County's total population is Indian. A study of seven elementary schools in this county with a total enrollment of 941 children in grades 1–8, listed 554 Cherokees enrolled. These seven schools had a total of 30 dropouts, five of which were Cherokee.

Our conclusions are that the attendance and achievement of Indian children attending elementary public schools in Eastern Oklahoma is as good as that of the total school population of the schools they attend. There is a high dropout rate in all these schools at the ninth grade level for all races. This is due in part to the type of school organization. There are many small elementary schools. Students completing these schools are required to change schools in order to attend high school. The dropout rate at this level is higher for Indians than for nonIndians. The high schools are usually in urban areas. In Oklahoma 72.9% of the Indian population is rural, while for the State as a whole, 45.8% of the population is rural.

For grades 10, 11, and 12, the dropout rate for Indians is about the same as for the general population.

An accounting of Indian high school graduates continuing their education includes only those receiving assistance from the Bureau. During 1967–68 school year there are 750 Indian students enrolled in colleges and universities who are receiving financial assistance; 273 are Cherokee. There are 231 Indian students from the Muskogee Area enrolled in post high school courses at Haskell Institute; 65 of these are Cherokee. During 1965–66 there were 27 Cherokees receiving Bureau assistance who graduated from College; in 1966–67 there were 25. This year there are 131 Cherokees attending college for their first year. There are many Indian students in college who receive no assistance from the Bureau, and we have no accounting for this group.

The school dropout rate for children is related directly to the socioeconomic and educational level of their parents. This is certainly a factor in Eastern Oklahoma.

Some progress is being made through Bureau and Tribal efforts.

Through Johnson-O'Malley funds $88,000 was expended for school lunches for Cherokee Indian children attending public schools during the 1966–67 school term. A similar amount will be spent this year. Four school coordinators who work as home visitors are working in four Counties where Cherokees live. These coordinators are of Indian descent and work with both parents and students in interpreting the school program and securing a greater involvement of parents in the education of their children.

The Cherokee, Osage, Creek and Mississippi Choctaw Tribes are sponsoring work-study programs for eligible students attending public schools. This program serves both Indians and non-Indians.

Johnson-O'Malley funds are also assisting public school with Indians enrollment in the improvement of their instructional programs.

Kindergartens, on a limited basis are being provided for Indian children through the use of Johnson-O'Malley funds. With assistance from the Bureau a Child Guidance Center has been established in Adair County where approximately 25% of the school enrollment is Cherokee.

There is much more that needs to be done to improve educational opportunity for Indians in Oklahoma attending public schools. Some of these are:

1. Early childhood programs in districts with a high concentration of Indian children.
2. Greater involvement of Indian people in school and community affairs.
3. Improved guidance and counseling programs.
4. Inservice training of staff, including history, culture and accomplishments of the Indian people leading to a better understanding of their values and what motivates them.
5. School district reorganization in order to establish units capable of providing resources and specialties required for a better school system. Thus better preparation of graduates for successful post high education.
6. Funds to meet certain parental costs of families with low income.

7. Greater provisions for adult education.

The Bureau operates five facilities in Eastern Oklahoma—one elementary boarding school, one high school and three dormitories where children live and attend public school. Children served by these facilities are admitted under the following criteria:

A. Education criteria

1. Those for whom a public or Federal day school is not available. Walking distance to school or bus transportation is defined as one mile for elementary children and 1½ miles for high school students.

B. Social criteria

4. Those who are neglected or rejected for whom no more suitable plan can be made.

5. Those who belong to large families with no suitable home and whose separation from each other is undesirable.

6. Those whose behavior problems are too difficult for solution by their families or through existing community facilities and who can benefit from the controlled environment of a boarding school without harming other children.

7. Those whose health or proper care is jeopardized by illness of other members of the household.

Special needs of students enrolled in these facilities are:

1. Greater opportunity for children to have interpersonal relationships with adults than is now provided in our Institutional settings.This requires reducing the employee-child ratio in both the dormitories and classrooms.

2. Professional staff in the areas of pupil personnel services, including Social Workers, Psychologists, Counselors and Directors of Recreation for early identification of special needs and abilities.

3. Opportunity for students to earn or have personal funds while in school.

4. Opportunity to have educational and cultural experiences outside the classroom.

5. Increased support of the community, neighbors, tribal and local government officials.

6. Special training for all teachers as well as other personnel, such as dormitory attendants, teacher aids and bus drivers.

7. Remedial and compensatory programs.

8. Develop in the students a better appreciation of culture and their contribution to the dominant society.

9. Personnel trained in linguistics who can give assistance to Teachers of English as a Second Language.

10. Curriculum improvement including staff training, curricula, innovation and implementation of special techniques such as team teaching, nongraded programs, democratic processes, individualized instruction, vocational planning, student participation in decisions that concern them, sex education, driver's training, etc., and understanding of economic systems.

What is being done in the Muskogee Area to cope with special needs of Indian Children:

Bureau Schools and Dormitories

1. This year we have extended to the Sequoyah school, pupil personnel services to include additional counseling, psychological services, social work, speech therapy and a visiting teacher to work between school and home.

2. Psychological services have been provided Seneca school.

3. Four facilities have provided their children greater opportunity for interpersonal relationships with adults. Approximately 80 adults have been provided through the Foster Grandparent Program, funded through O.E.O. and sponsored by the Sequoyah County Development Corporation.

4. A program involving a detailed study of Indian history and culture was carried on for two months in one boarding school. This culminated in a trip to the ancestral home of the Cherokees in North Carolina and a pageant developed by the students and presented in three different communities. A small museum was then established and books on Indian culture were added to the Library.

5. Providing learning experiences outside the classroom through recreational activities, trips, camps, scouting, 4–H groups.

6. Evaluation of our high school program with professional help from the Bureau's Central office and one university.

7. Month-long staff training for personnel including some teachers, dormitory employees, cooks, and maintenance workers. This training has been conducted at one of our State Colleges.

8. A two-year project entitled, *Youth Development*, has been operating in two of our schools. This has included training for both staff and students and has been under the direction of one of the State Colleges, stressing the inter-disciplinary approach and student leadership including involvement of students in decisions that concern them.

9. Curriculum study and revision is now in progress in Sequoyah High School.

10. Language laboratories have been established in three schools.

11. Remedial and compensatory education, including language and math.

12. Increased involvement of Indian leaders and parents in school affairs.

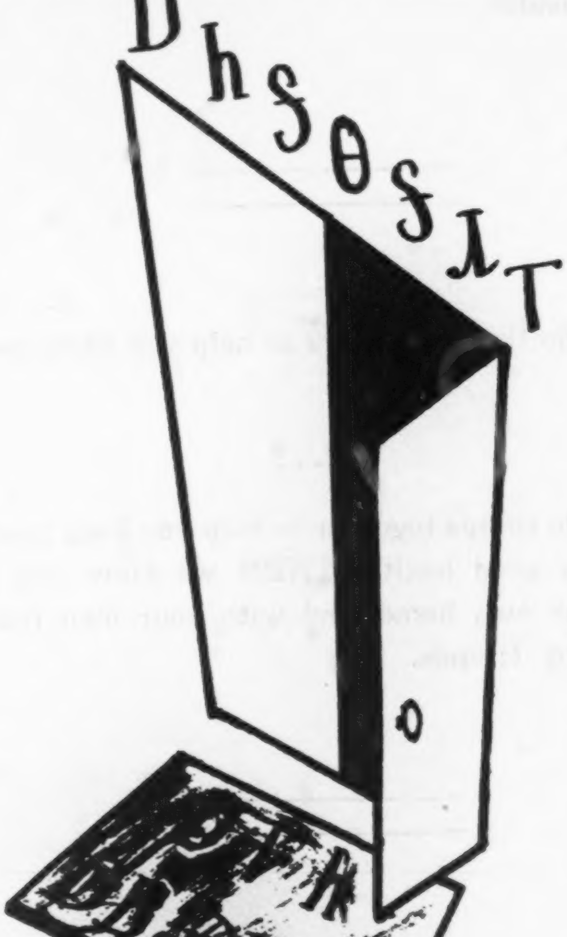
13. Intern teaching programs in connection with the State Colleges.

14. Individualizing of instruction through the reduction of class size and use of teacher aids.

15. Improved library and materials centers and extension of these services through a bookmobile to the Indian communities as well as day schools.

PHS INDIAN HOSPITAL

ᏧᏂᏢᎩ ᎠᏂᏴᏫᏯ ᎤᎾᏢᏗᎢ



ᎯᎠᏃ ᏗᎪᏪᎵ ᎠᏓᏃᎯᏎᎯ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᎾᎸᏛᏁᎭ
ᎠᏎᏂ ᏁᏂᎦᎾᎦᏗ ᎠᎴ ᏧᏂᎸᏫᏍᏓᏁᎯ ᎠᎴ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ
ᎢᏨᏛᏂᏗ ᎨᏒᎢ

(643)

You come to the hospital *Clinic* because you are sick and you want to have good health again,

OR...

You come because you want to keep yourself and your family in good health.

When we can do things together to help you have good health again,

OR...

When we can do things together to help you keep yourself and your family in good health, THEN we know you can feel happier in your own home, and with your own family, and with your own friends.

We want to tell you...

We hope that you will make good use of our hospital *Clinic*.

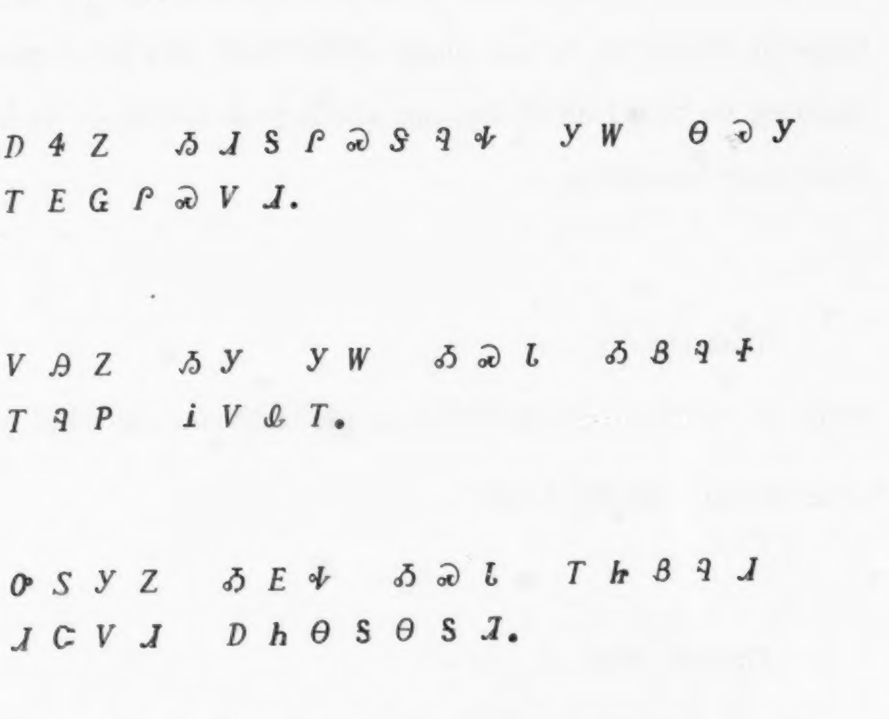
ᏟᏓᏂᎳᏕᎬ ᏱᎩ ᏟᏗᎾᏍᏗ ᏟᎦᎵᏍᎪᎢ.

ᎠᎣ ᏟᎦᎵᏍᎪᏃ ᏕᏟᏓᏗᎾᎥ ᏙᎯ ᎥᏳᎩ ᏄᎵᏩᎭᏍᏍᎾ ᎢᏳᎵᏍᏙᏗᎢ ᎢᏤᎲᎢ.

ᎠᏎᏃ ᏱᏗᏚᎵᏍᏕᏄᏭ ᎩᎳ ᎾᏍᎩ ᎢᎬᏳᎵᏍᏙᏗ.

ᏙᎯᏃ ᏱᎩ ᎩᎳ ᏱᏍᏓ ᏱᏰᏄᏐ ᎢᏄᏢ ᎥᏙᎲᎢ.

ᎤᎦᎩᏃ ᏱᎬᏭ ᏱᏍᏓ ᎢᏥᏰᏄᏗ ᏗᏨᏙᏗ ᎠᏂᎾᏚᎾᏚᏗ.



Our hospital is:

"A PLACE WHERE MANY PEOPLE WORK TOGETHER FOR YOUR GOOD HEALTH."

The DOCTOR is in charge of all treatment or curing in the hospital. However, he has many HELPERS who have special training to help find things out about your health *or* to help with your treatment.

This is why. . .

there are often many different people that you see when you come to our hospital *Clinic.*

This is why...

you must often wait in *Clinic* to see the Doctor, to see his Helpers, or to see the Doctor again before he begins treatment or curing.

This booklet is:

"A GUIDE TO OUR CLINIC SERVICES,"

and we hope that it will be helpful to you.

ᎠᏯᏂ ᎠᏂᏕᎾᏕᏘ ᎤᏂᎪᏗ ᎤᎾᎵᎪ ᏚᏂᏄᎾᏍᏓᏁᎲ ᎨᏥᏍᎦᎵᏍᎬᎢ.

ᏙᎯ ᎢᏣᎴᏂᏓᏍᏗᎢ. ᎠᏕᎾᏕᏘ ᏄᎬᎾᏳᏒ ᎢᎩ ᎠᏓᎤᎾᏍᎬ ᎠᎴ ᎤᏪᏘ ᎠᏓᏁᎲᎢ.

ᎠᏎᏃ ᎤᏂᏣᏘ ᎬᏩᏂᏍᎦᎵᏍᎩ ᎠᎴ ᎾᏍᎩ ᏧᎾᎦᏮᏆᎥᎯ ᏧᏂᏄᎾᏍᏓᏁᏗ.

ᎾᏍᎩᏃ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᎯᏄᏍᎩ ᎢᏳᏓᎴᎩ ᏧᏂᏄᎾᏍᏓᏁᎯ ᏗᏕᎷᏆᏗ ᏥᎨᏐᎢ.

ᎠᎴ ᎠᏕᏘᏗᏍᏗ ᏥᎨᏐ ᎠᏕᎾᏕᏘ ᎤᏓᎪᎵᏴᏗᎢ.

ᎯᎠᏃ ᎪᏪᎵ ᎠᏓᏃᎯᏎᎯ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᎢᏳᏮᏁᎵᏓᏍᏗ ᎠᏯᏂ ᎠᏕᎾᏕᏘᎣ ᎮᏙᎲᎢ. ᎤᏚᎩᏃ ᎣᎬᏯ ᏔᎵᏍᎦᏄᏙᏔᏂᏒᎢ.

IF...

If you or someone with you is very sick, tell this to a girl at the Information Desk or to a *nurse.*

When you do this, they will make sure that a Doctor (or nurse) will get to examine you quickly.

IN CASE OF EMERGENCY

(accident cases; a person with a sudden sickness or someone who is very, very sick; a mother almost ready to have her baby)

Come to the...

EMERGENCY ENTRANCE

Ring the bell...and tell a nurse or anyone about your trouble.

Now let us enter the Clinic

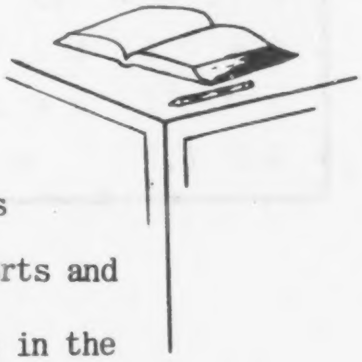
ᎢᏳᏃ ᎩᎶ ᎤᏥᏍᏘᏍᏗ ᎤᏢᎩ ᏱᎩ. ᏗᎪᏪᎵᏍᎩ ᎠᎴ ᏧᏂᏢᎩ ᏧᎦᏌᏍᏗ ᏱᎾᎧᏃᎯᏎᎳ ᎩᎳᏉ ᎢᏴ ᎭᎾᏮᎤᎢᏍᏓ ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏗ ᏟᎪᎵᏰᏗᎢ.

ᎤᎵᏍᏓ ᏂᎦᎵᏍᏗᏍᎬ ᏱᎩ ᎭᏮᎾ ᎪᎱᏍᏗ ᎤᏓᎿᎤ'ᎤᎯ ᏱᎩ. ᎠᎴ ᎤᎵᏍᏓ ᏳᏓᏢᏟ ᎠᎴ ᎤᏓᏥ ᎢᎦᎵᏍᏗᏍᎩ ᏱᎩ ᎠᎰᎭ ᎤᎵᏍᏓ ᏂᎦᎵᏍᏗᏍᎬᎢ. ᎠᏍᏚᏗ ᏗᎦᏙᎥ ᎾᎦᎷᎯᏍᏗ. ᎤᏤᏄᏂ ᎦᏃᏴᎵᏍᏙᏗ ᎠᎰᎭ ᏧᏁᎦ ᏧᏄᏳᎢ ᎾᎧᏃᎯᏎᏗ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏱᏚᎵᏍᎬᎢ.

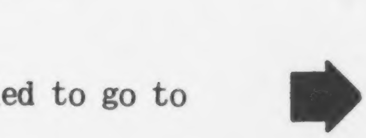
After you enter Clinic...

FIRST give your name and hospital number at the **INFORMATION DESK** in the waiting room.

Here someone will get your **MEDICAL RECORD** or (if you have never been to the hospital before) someone will make our a Medical Record folder for you.



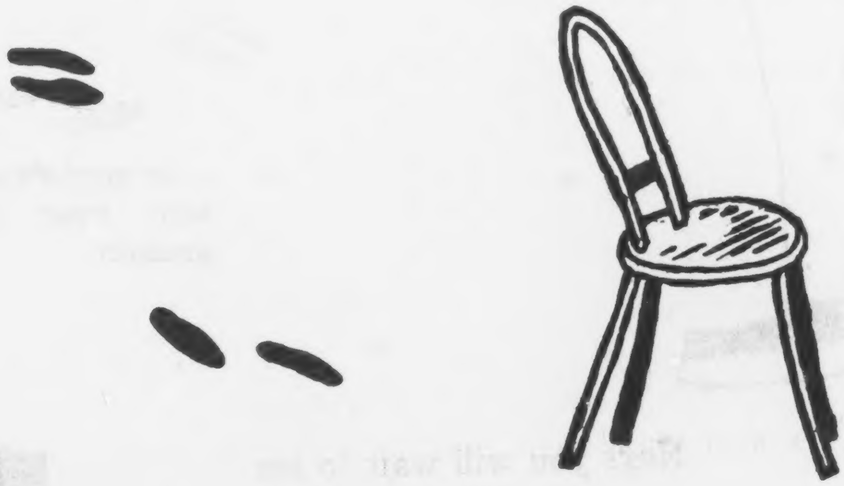
This **RECORD** may have X-ray and other test reports from times you were here before. These reports and Doctor's notes about your health in the past are used by the Doctor to help in knowing how to treat your sickness NOW.



THEN you wait until your name is called to go to ➡

ᏌᏟᏴᏁᏞᏃ ᎯᎠ ᎢᏟᏛᏂᏗ ᎦᏟᏙᎥᎢ ᎠᎴ ᏘᏄᏍᏗ ᎦᏟᎲ ᏗᏦᏯᎶᏗ. ᏗᎪᏯᏁᏃ ᎦᏟᏙᎥ ᏗᎪᏯ-Ꮑ ᏚᏂᏍᏆᏂᎪᏛ ᏌᎾᏓᏂᎾᎩ. ᎯᎠᏃ ᏗᎪᏯᏁ ᎦᎪᏯᎳ ᎢᏳᏍᎩᏗ ᎠᏚᎾᏚᏘ ᏉᏙᎸᎢ. ᎠᎴ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᎢᏳᏰᎸᏗ ᏉᏙᎸᎢ. ᎠᎴ ᎢᏳᏍᏗᏍ ᎰᏟᎧᏛᎡᎸ ᎰᏟᎪᏁᏰᎥ ᏧᏁᏌᎸ ᏍᎳᎤᎢ. ᎾᏅᏃ ᎦᎪᏯᎶᎢ. ᎾᏍᎩᏃ ᎦᎬᏗᏍᎪ ᎠᏚᎾᏚᏘ ᎠᎦᎶᎰᎯᏍᏗᏍᎪ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏟᏓᏂᎸᎢ. ᎠᎴ ᎢᏳᏛᏂᏗ ᏟᎤᏆᏗᎢ.

ᎾᏉ ᏟᏚᏘᏗᏍᏗ ᎡᏟᏍᏂᏍᎬ ᎢᎪᎯᏛ



. . .the PROCESSING CLINIC

Here a nurse will. . .

. . .take your temperature

. . .and weigh you

. . .or ask you for a urine specimen

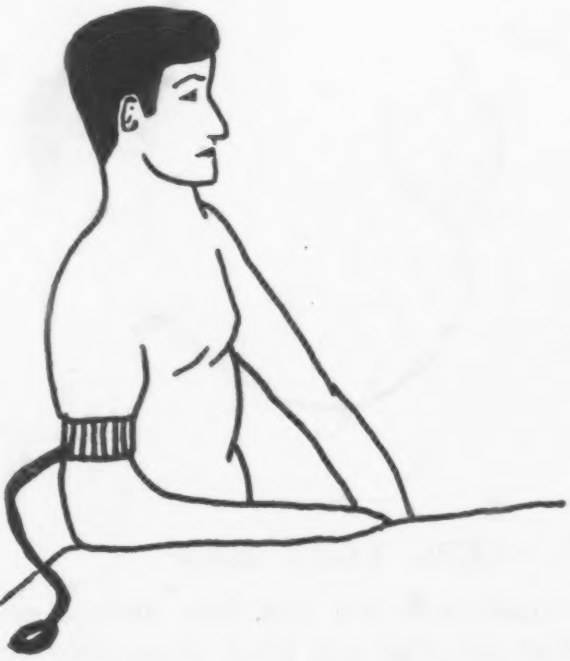
. . .or maybe she will take your blood pressure

Next you will wait to see ➡

ᎢᎬᏱᏃ ᎰᎡ ᏣᏗᎴᎥᏍᎬ ᏰᏣᎪᎵᏍ

ᎠᎴ ᎢᏣᏞᎰᏞ ᎰᎡᎢ. ᎠᎴ ᎠᏤ ᏙᏱ
ᏉᏙᏄᎯ ᏍᏔᏥᏝ ᎤᏂᎪᎵᏰᏗᎢ.

ᎠᎴ ᏳᏕᏮᏓᏕ ᎢᏳᎵᏂᎩᏮ ᎩᎬ
ᎡᏙᏓ ᎯᏰᏄᎢ.

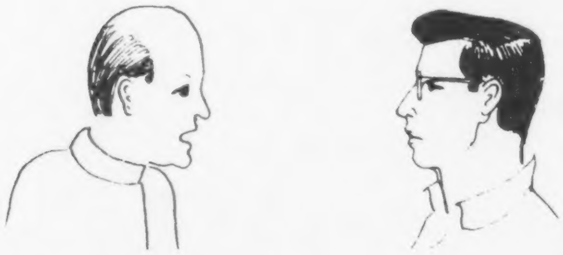


ᎾᏍᏃ ᎯᏕᏧᏗᏍᏗ.

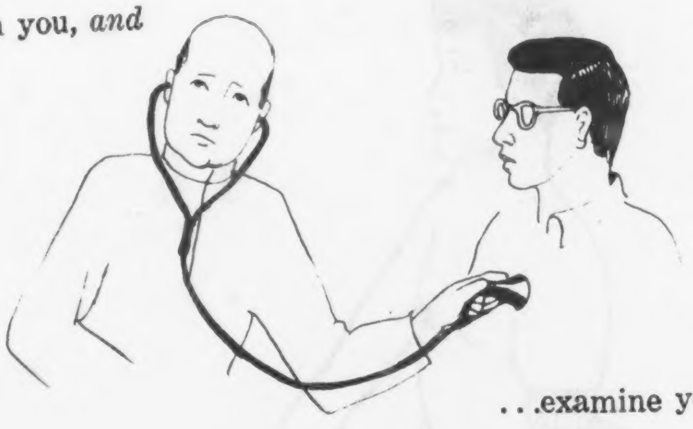
. . .the **DOCTOR**

(the Doctor will have your *Medical Record* which can help him to know about your health in the past. . .it can also tell important things about your health today)

NOW the Doctor will. . .



. . .talk with you, *and*



. . .examine you.

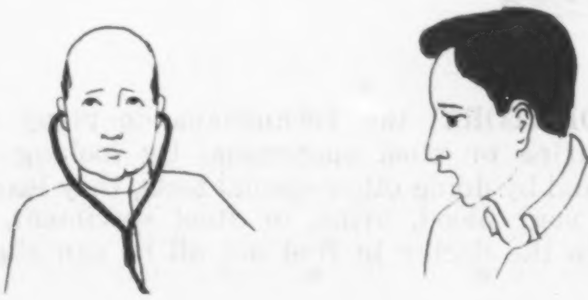
THE DOCTOR NEEDS YOUR HELP

You know more about how you feel than anyone else. The Doctor needs to find out what you know about your sickness, so he will ask many questions. When you answer the Doctor's questions, you help him to treat your sickness. The Doctor often uses HELPERS in the hospital to help find out all he can about your health.

Next he might send you to ➡

ᎠᏚᎾᏚᎫ

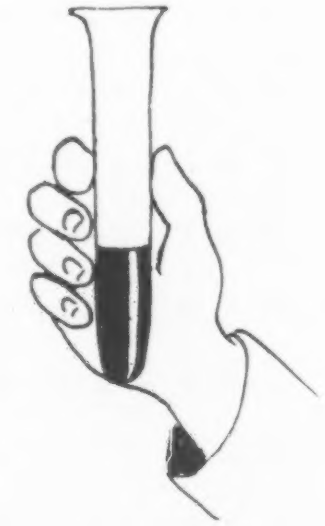
ᏧᏣᏕᏄᏍᎳᎤ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏣᎵᏥᏙᏄ ᎠᎴ ᎠᏚᎾᏚᎫ ᏤᏙᏄ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏅᎾᎦᏩᎰᎡ ᎦᎪᏔᏄ ᏓᎤᏗᏍᎪᎢ. ᎠᎾᎦᏩᎰᏍᎬ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏣᏓᏄᎢ. ᎾᏍᏃ ᎠᏚᎾᏚᎫ ᏕᏣᎱᏃᎮᏓ. ᎠᎴ ᏕᏣᎪᎱᎲ. ᎯᏍᎦᏄᏗᏃ ᏅᏚᎱᏍᎪᎢ. ᏨᏌᏃ ᏣᎤᏮ ᏄᏍᏮ ᏣᏓᎤᏮ. ᎠᎴ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏂᏣᎱᏍᏓᏁᎸ ᏕᏣᏮᏮᎸᏚ. ᎠᎴ ᏣᎪᎱᏴᏍᎬ ᏂᏚᏓᏃ ᏫᎱᎢ ᎯᏃᎯᏎᏗ. ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏂᏣᎱᏍᏓᏁᎸᎢ. ᎾᏍᎩᏃ ᏓᎳᏏᏗᏍᎪᎢ. ᎠᎦᏩᎰᏍᎬ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏣᏓᏂᏄᎢ. ᎠᎴ ᎢᏳᏮᏂᏗ ᎰᎡ ᏣᎤᎾᏍᎬᎢ.



. . .the **LABORATORY**

Here a Laboratory Technician will do many kinds of tests for the Doctor.

The Technician might take a few drops of blood from a finger or from your arm.



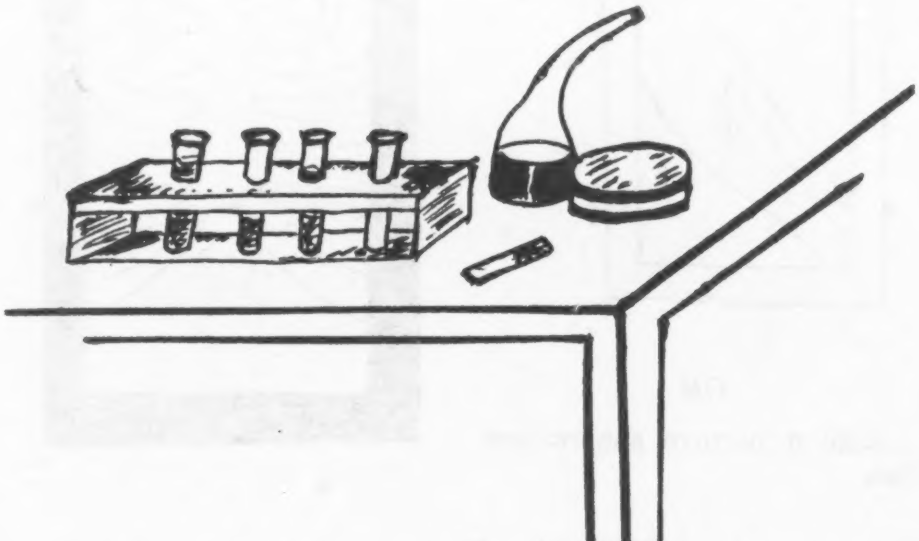
(MOST people have ten or twelve PINTS of blood in their bodies. The little amount of blood which the Laboratory Technician takes from you will not hurt your body.)

In the LABORATORY, the Technicians do many tests on your blood, urine or stool specimens. By looking through a *microscope* and by doing other special tests, they learn many things about your blood, urine, or stool specimens. In this way, they help the doctor to find out all he can about your health.

Next he might send you to ➡

ᏧᏓᎴᏅᏓ ᎤᏂᎪᎵᏰᏗᎢ

ᎠᏐᏂ ᎧᏅᏋᏎ ᎩᎬ ᎠᎴ ᎠᏯ ᏙᏱ Ꭱ ᏙᏎ ᎠᎴ ᎠᎵᏍᏓᏴᏅᎯ ᏙᏱ ᎡᏙᏎᎯ ᎤᏂᎪᎵᏚᏗᎢ. ᎾᏍᎩ ᎠᏅᏗᏍᎪ ᎠᎾᏕ ᏮᎼᏍᎬ ᎪᎱᏍᏗ ᎡᏍᎦ ᏱᎩ. ᏐᎾᏂ ᎥᏰᏎᎢ. ᎢᎩᎪᏗ ᎠᎴ ᏂᏗᎥᏤ ᎤᎪᏗ ᎩᎬ ᎢᎩᏁᎯ ᎢᏗᏰᏎᎢ. ᎾᏍᎩ ᎯᎠ ᎦᏲᎵ ᎩᎬ ᏟᏂᏁᎩᏍᎪ ᎤᏂᎪᎵᏰᏗ, ᏝᏃ ᎪᎱᏍᏗ ᎡᏍᎦ ᎢᏍᏓᏛᏁᎯ ᏱᎩ.

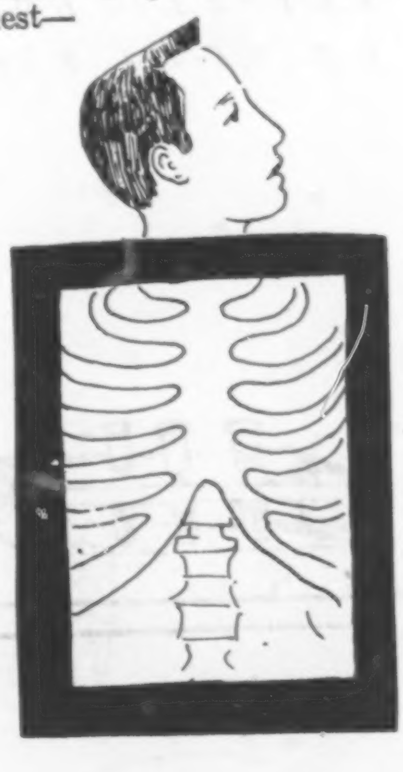


...the **X-RAY**

Here the X-ray Technician will use an X-ray machine to take pictures of the inside of some part of your body. The X-ray machine in our hospital can be used *only* for taking X-ray *PICTURES,* and it does not hurt.

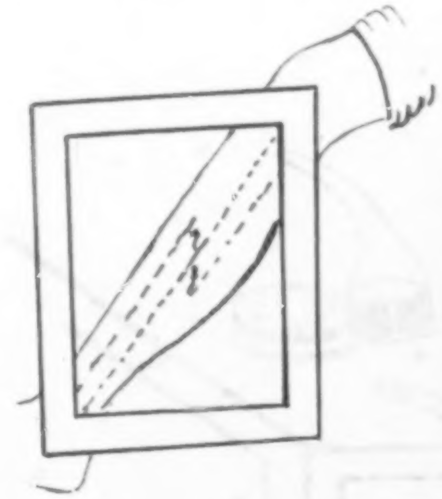
The X-ray Technician might...

...take a picture of your chest—



OR

...take a picture of your leg—



OR

...take a picture somewhere else.

(She also does "E.K.G."—Electrocardiogram—tests. This machine tells about your heart action, and it does not hurt). THEN the X-ray Technician will show the tests or pictures to the Doctor and this will help him to learn more about your lungs or leg bones, your heart or another part of your body.

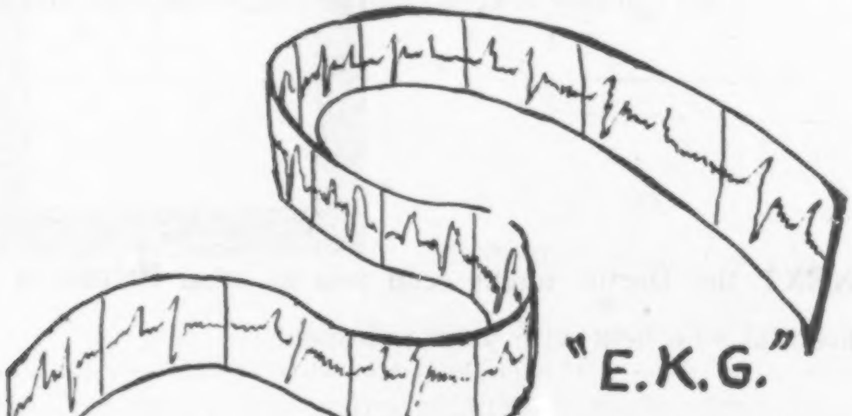
THEN you will go back to ➡

ᏧᎾᏓᏟᎶᏍᏙᏗᎢ

ᏗᏓᏟᎶᏍᏗᏍᎩ ᎯᏁᏥ ᏱᎦᏟᏟᎶᏍᏓ
ᎠᎴ ᎯᏅᏍᎮᏂ ᎠᎴ ᎯᏃᎮᏂ ᏱᎩ.

ᎾᏍᎩᏃ ᏧᏟᎶᏍᏔᏅ ᎠᏅᏓᏍᎪ
ᎠᎾᎦᎶᎮᏍᎪ ᎪᎱᏍᏗ ᎡᏍᏕ ᏱᎩ
ᏘᎾᏂ ᎯᏰᏄᎢ. ᎠᎴ ᏅᎪᎶᎯ

ᎠᏘᏂ ᎾᏐᏚ ᏱᎾᎾ ᏍᏂᎪᎵᏍ



"E.K.G."
test report

...the DOCTOR

(When the Doctor has talked with you, examined you and read the reports from the laboratory and X-ray technicians, he is then ready to treat you for your sickness)

The DOCTOR will...

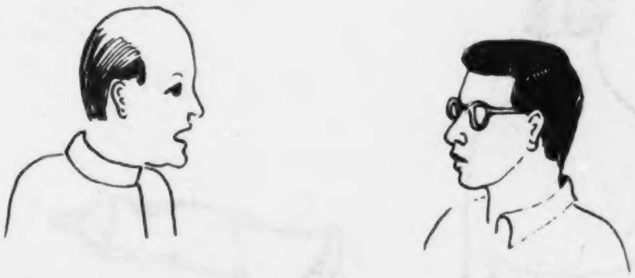
- ...tell you about your sickness;
- ...tell you what medicine you should take to have good health again (be sure to take the medicine at the times of day and as long as the Doctor tells you);
- ...tell you what you can do *or* should not do to have good health again;
- ...tell you how to keep from getting worse than you are.

NEXT the Doctor might send you to other Helpers in the hospital who help with your treatment.

He might send you to ➡

ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏘ

ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏘ ᏍᏞᎱᏃᎮᏄᎯ ᏓᎩ ᎠᎴ ᏧᎪᎱᏰᏞ ᏓᎩ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᎤᎾᏕᎶᎨᎡ ᎡᏍᎦ ᎨᏒ ᎾᏍᏃ ᎤᏛᏅᎢᏍᏙ ᏨᏅᏬᏗᎢ.

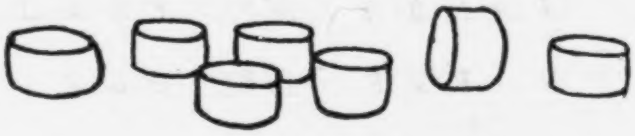


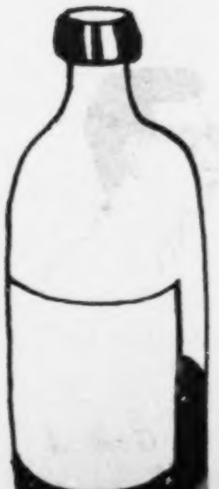
ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏘᏃ ᏓᏨᏃᎯᏏ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏨᏞᏂᏄ ᎠᎴ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᎡᏍᎦ ᎨᏒ ᎠᎴ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏅᏬᏘ ᏨᎩᎯᏍᏗ ᎨᏒ ᎠᎴ ᏓᏨᏃᎯᏏ. ᎠᎴ ᎢᎦᏅᏍᏙᎯ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏓᏨᏛᏂᏗ ᎨᏒ ᏙᎯ ᎾᏂᎦᎱᏍᏗᏍᎬ ᎢᎪᎯᏛ ᎠᎴᏃ ᏄᏞᎴ ᎠᏂᎦᎾᎦᏘ ᏗᏂᏅ ᏓᎾᏨᏎᎯᏏ.

...the **PHARMACY** (Drug Room)

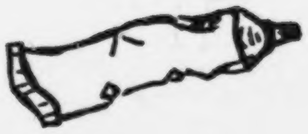
Here a Pharmacist will give you medicine the Doctor has ordered for you. It might be...

...pills,





...capsules,



...salve or ointment,

...or drops

...liquid.

The medicine you get will have DIRECTIONS on it. It will tell you *how much* and *how often* to take or to use the medicine. If you want help to know how to take or use the medicine...

...BE SURE TO ASK the Pharmacist. You help the doctor to treat your sickness when you take or use all the medicine in the way he tells you. When you do this, it should help you to have good health again.

MAYBE the Doctor will send you to ➡

ᏅᏬᏘ ᏅᏃᎵᏗᎢ

ᏅᏬᏘ ᎪᎵᏍᎩ ᎠᏛᏅᎢᏍᏗᏍᎪ ᏅᏬᏘ
ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏘ ᏅᏓᏅᏒᎯ ᏂᎯ ᏟᎩᎯᏍᏗ
ᏗᎩᎯᏍᏗᏤ ᎠᎴ

ᎠᏓᏅᏂᏴᏗ ᎠᎴ
ᎠᏓᏔᏍᏗᏤ ᏧᎩ
ᎯᎠ ᏅᏬᏘ ᏴᏟᏁᏔ
ᎪᏪᎸ ᎠᏍᏓᏩᏛᏍᏙ
ᎢᏩᏍᏗ ᎢᏌᏛᏂᏗ
ᎥᎩᏍᎬᎢ. ᏂᎴ ᏅᎾ

ᎶᏌᏍᏙ ᎢᏕᎢ ᎰᎮ
ᎠᎴ ᎢᏩᏓᏂ ᎠᎩᎯ
ᏍᏗ ᎠᎴ ᏂᏓᏅᏬᏗ.
ᎾᏍᎩᏃ ᏟᏍᏓᏩᏛ-
ᏍᏗ. ᎢᏎᏛᏓᏍᏗᏍ-
ᎰᏍᏘᏃ ᎢᏩᏍᏗ
ᏉᏂᏞᏍᎬ ᏅᏬᏘ
ᎪᎵᏍᎩ ᏏᏛᏁᎮᏍᏗ ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏘ ᎯᏍ-
ᏚᎵ ᏟᏅᎾᏍᎬᎢ.

...the **CLINIC** (Treatment Room)

Here a Nurse might give you medicine or some other treatment the Doctor has ordered.

It might be...

...a penicillin shot
or
...a flu shot
or
...a vaccination.

The Nurse might soak your foot...

...or bandage your finger

...or she might ask you for a stool specimen. (Sample)

You help the Doctor to treat your sickness when you let the Nurse give you the treatment which you need.

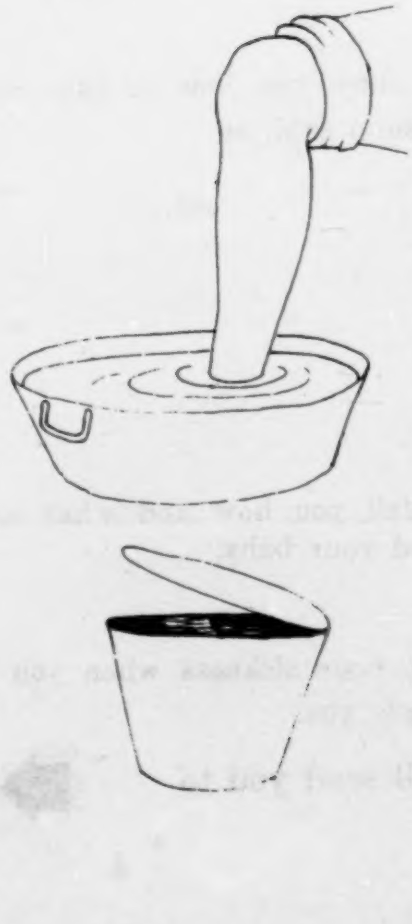
THEN the Doctor might send you to ➡

ᎢᎾᏓᎤᏅᏗ ᎣᎤᏛᏄᎢ

ᏝᏂᎰᏯ ᏧᏁᎦ ᏧᎾᏄᏬ ᎤᏅᏛ ᏣᎰ ᏟᏁᎳ. ᎠᏚᎾᎦᏛ ᎤᏓᏳᏓᎤᏒᎯ ᏣᎩ

ᏣᏂᎰᏟᏮᏂᏏ ᎱᎲᏂ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏟᏓᏂᏄ ᎤᎬᏳᎸ ᏣᎰᏟᏟᏲᎲ.

ᎠᏧ ᎯᏰᎻᏮ ᏣᎩ ᏣᎰᏟᏄᏍᏓᏏ ᏙᏣ ᎽᏙᏄᎯ ᏍᏂᏓᏲᎲ.

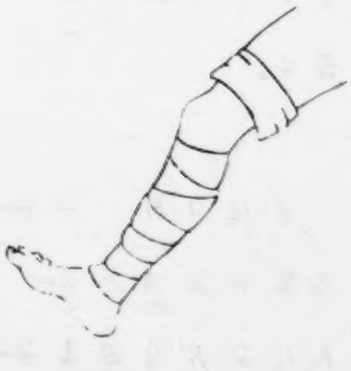


ᏧᏁᎦ ᏧᎾᏄᏬ ᎠᏂᏳᏯ ᏣᎳᎸᏯᎪᎸᏓᏁᎳ ᎰᏟᏍᏕᏄᎯᏓᏍᏗᎢ. ᎠᏚᎾᎦᏛᏃ ᎾᏍᏉ ᎯᏍᏕᎸ ᏟᎤᎾᏍᎬᎢ.

. . .the **PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE**

Here the nurse will talk with you or show you how to take good care of yourself or your family.

The Public Health Nurse will help the Doctor with his treatment by teaching you good ways to have good health again or to keep yourself in good health.



She might. . .

. . .show you how to take an insulin shot, or

. . .show you how to wrap a sore leg, or

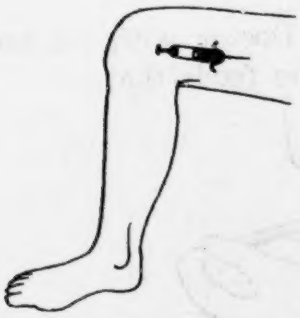
. . .tell you how and what to feed your baby.

You help the Doctor to treat your sickness when you listen and do what the nurse tells you.

MAYBE the Doctor will send you to ➡

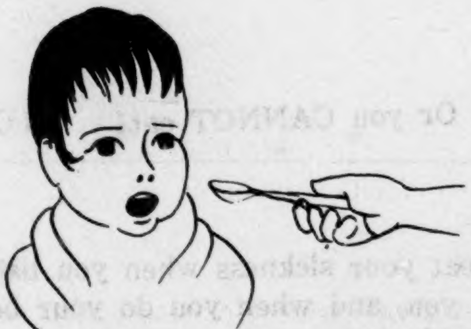
ᏧᏂᏢᎩ ᏗᏚᎫᎲ

ᎾᏍᎩᏃ ᎯᎠ ᏧᏂᏢᎩ ᏗᏚᎫᎲ ᎤᏏ ᎲᎰᏣᏃᎯᏏ ᎠᎴ ᎲᎰᏤᏲᏭᏚ ᎢᏣᏮᏂᏗᎢ ᏣᏝᎵᏏᎤᏙᏗᎢ. ᎠᎴ ᏕᏣᎸᎫᎾᎥᎢ ᎾᏍᎩ ᎾᏍᏬ. ᎲᏍᏕᎵᏍᎪ ᎠᏚᎾᏚᎫ ᏣᎤᎾᏍᎬ ᎠᎴ ᎡᏤᏲᏭᏍᎬ ᎠᏚᎾᏚᎫ ᎰᎡ ᏙᎯ ᎢᏚᎵᏍᏙᏗᎢ.



ᏨᎻᏃ ᏣᏝᏣᏲᏍᎫ ᏰᏤᏲᏭᏚ

ᎠᎴ ᏰᏤᏲᏭᏚ ᏨᎻ ᏣᏝᎤᏫᎫ ᏣᎵᏍᏕᏈᏗᎢ.



ᏰᏣᏃᎯᏏ ᎢᎶᏍᎫ ᎢᏣᏮᏂᎫ ᎰᎡᎢ. ᎢᎶᏍᎫ ᎰᎵᏍᎫ ᎤᏍᎫᎢ.

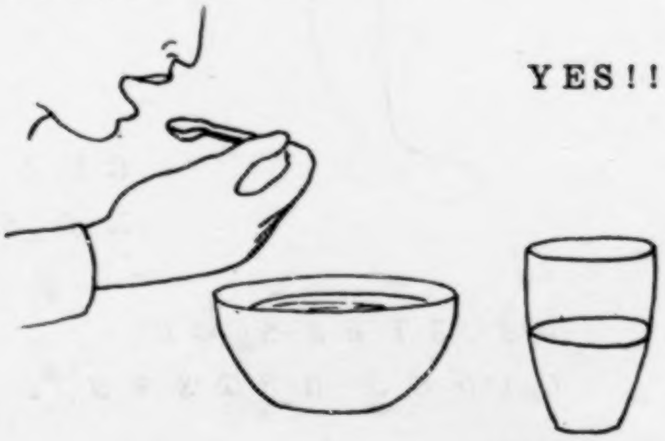
ᎠᏚᎾᏚᎫ ᎯᏍᏕᎵᏍᎪᎢ ᏣᎤᎾᏍᎬᎢ ᏍᏮᏝᏍᎫ ᎤᏏ ᏂᏣᏯᏎᏭᎢ.

. . .the DIETITIAN

Here the Dietitian will talk with you about *what* you eat, *how much* you eat, *how you cook* your food, and also *when* you eat your meals.

The Dietitian will help the Doctor with his treatment by telling you or showing you the foods that...

You CAN eat! YES!!



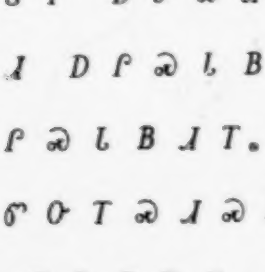
Or you CANNOT eat! NO!!

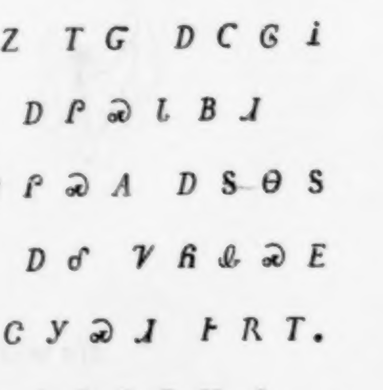
You help the Doctor to treat your sickness when you listen to what the Dietitian tells you, and when you do your best to follow the diet that she gives you.

THEN the Doctor might send you to ➡

ᎠᎵᏍᏓᏴᏗ ᎠᏛᏅᎢᏍᏗᏍᎩ

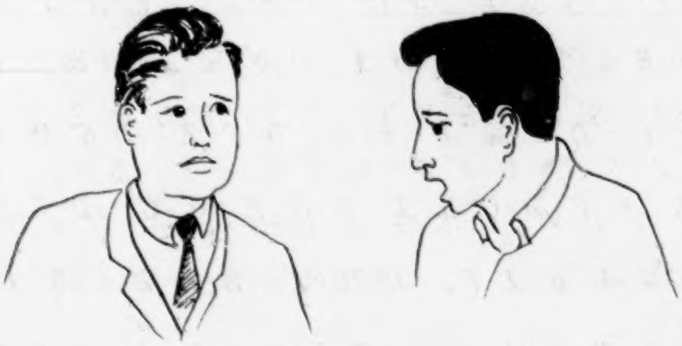
ᎯᎠᏃ ᎠᎵᏍᏓᏴᏗ ᎠᏛᏅᎢᏍᏗᏍᎩ ᎣᏤᎰᏭᎦ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏟᎩᏍᏗ ᎨᏒ ᎠᎴ ᎢᎦᎢ ᎠᎩᏍᏗ ᎨᏒ ᎠᎴᏃ ᎠᏛᏅᎢᏍᏙᏗ ᎠᎵᏍᏓᏴᏗ ᎠᎴᏃ ᎢᏳ ᎠᏟᎶᎥ ᎠᎵᏍᏓᏴᏗᎢ. ᎯᎠᏃ ᎠᎵᏍᏓᏴᏗ ᎠᏛᏅᎢᏍᏗᏍᎩ ᎠᏍᏚᎵᏍᎪ ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏧ ᏟᏅᎾᏍᎬ ᏟᏃᏎᏭ ᎠᎴ ᏤᎰᏭᏍᎬ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᎠᎵᏍᏓᏴᏗ ᏟᎩᏍᏗ ᎨᏒᎢ. ᏨᏜᏃ ᏘᎵᏍᏚᎵ ᏙᎯ ᎣᏟᎵᏍᏙᏗ ᎠᎴ ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏧ ᎯᏍᏚᎵ ᏟᏅᎾᏍᎬᎢ. ᎢᏳᏃ ᏂᎨᏟᏯᏎᏭ ᎠᎴ ᏒᏤᎰᏭᏍᎬ ᎣᏂᏟᏛᏁᎳ ᏟᏓᏂᏄᎢ.





...SOCIAL SERVICE

Here the Clinical Social Worker will *listen* to what you have to say about many things...



He will also *talk* with you about many things...

PERHAPS you are worried or puzzled...

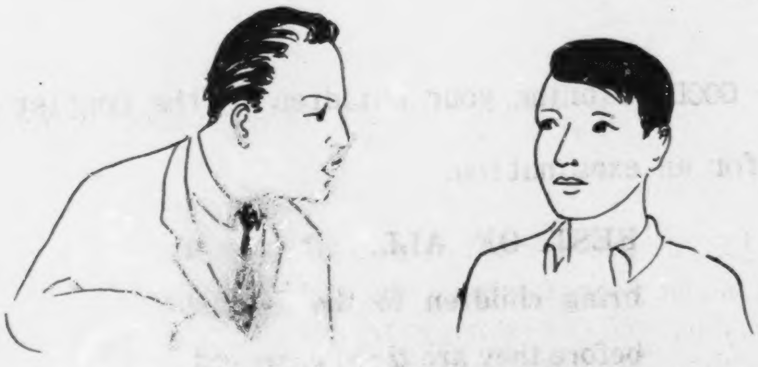
...about your physical or mental health?
...about no job during sickness?
...about troubles in your marriage?
...about strange actions of your child?
...about a drinking problem?
...about old folks and their care?
...about feelings you don't understand?

(When you or someone in your family is sick,
you may need help with travel or money)

By counseling with children *and* adults, (OR, by sending you to another AGENCY) the Social Worker *and* you help the doctor to treat your sickness by doing something about your personal, family, or other problems.

ᏴᎾ ᏗᏍᏕᎵᏍᎩ

ᎠᎭᏂ ᏴᎾ ᏗᏍᏕᎵᏍᎩ ᎪᏎᏗ ᏧᎸᎾᏍᏓᏁᎯ. ᏨᏍᏕᎸᏗ ᎤᏚᎵᏍᎪᎢ. ᏧᏓᎴᎤᏓᏤ ᏨᏦᏎᏗᏍᎬ ᎯᎠ ᏧᎸᎾᏍᏓᎪᎯ ᎤᏮ ᎤᎢᏍᏙ ᏨᏍᏕᎸᎯᏓᏍᏗᎢ. ᏍᏮᎾᏤ ᏕᏨᏓᎫᎾᎥ ᏚᏂᏢᏥᏙᎲ ᏱᎩ. ᎠᎦᎾᎦᎫ ᎥᏙᎲ ᏗᎬᏙᏗ ᎠᏕᎳ ᎧᏂᎪᏍᎬ ᏱᎩ. ᎠᎴ ᏧᏓᎴᎤᏓᏤ ᏨᏦᏎᏗᏍᎬ ᎠᎴ ᏨᏓᎤᏕᏗᏍᎬ ᎾᏍᎩ ᎯᎠ ᏧᎸᎾᏍᏓᏁᎯ ᏱᏨᏍᏕᎸᎯᏓ



Ꮷ[illegible]ᏓᎾ [illegible]Ꮄ ᏗᏂᏲᎵ ᎾᏍᎩ ᏓᎾᎵᏃᎮᏗᏍᎬᎢ. [illegible]Ꮄ ᎤᏳᎾᏓᎴ ᏧᏙᏢᎡ ᎡᏨᏍᏕᎸᏗ ᏱᏳᏨᏎᎯᏏ. ᎾᏍᎩᏃ ᏧᎸᎾᏍᏓᏁᎯ ᎠᎴ ᏂᎯ ᎡᏍᏗᏍᏕᎵᎭ. ᎠᎦᎾᎦᎫ ᏟᎤᎾᏍᎬᎢ. ᏧᏓᎴᎤᏓ ᏕᏨᏌᏏᏙᎲᎢ. ᏱᏨᎵᏂᎬᏁᎳ ᏱᏍᏓ ᎢᏳᎵᏍᏙᏗᎢ.

Another very important person in our hospital is... the **DENTIST**

Many parents bring their children to the Dentist to fill or to pull their teeth when they have tooth trouble and toothaches.

It is GOOD to bring your children to the Dentist each year for an examination.

BEST OF ALL, when you bring children to the Dentist before they are *three years old,* he can help to keep their teeth strong and healthy.

(The Dentist would also like to fix teeth of parents and older folks, but he *cannot* always do this because so many children need help with their teeth, *first*)

If you want your boy or girl to see the Dentist, *FIRST* give their name at the Information Desk in the waiting room and tell the clerk that you want your child to see the Dentist. (Later, keep appointments the very best you can.)

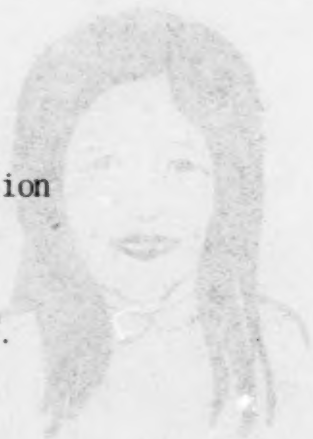
ᏗᏓᎤᏕᏍᎩ ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏘ

ᎤᏂᏥᏍᏘᏍᏘ ᏧᎾᏓᎦᏴᎵᎨ ᏗᏂᏲᎵ. ᏓᎾᏘᏃᎯᎨ ᏗᏓᎤᏕᏍᎩ ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏘ ᎤᏬᏑ ᏗᎨᏥᎤᏕᏍᎩ ᎤᎬᏩᎵ. ᎠᎴ ᏓᏂᎾᏙᎬ ᎣᏍᏓ ᎢᏗᎨᎬᏁᏗᎢ. ᎤᏟ ᎢᎦᎢ ᎤᎾᏚᎵᏍᎪᎢ ᏗᏂᏲᎵ ᏓᏂᎾᏙᎬ ᎣᏍᏓ ᎢᏧᎤᏁᏗ. ᏓᏙᎳᏃ ᏦᎢ ᎢᏳᏓᏕᏗᏴᏓ ᏄᎾᎾᏗᏢ ᎨᏒ ᏗᏘᏂᏓᏍᏘ ᎾᏍᎩ ᎤᎬᏩᎵ. ᎣᏏᏃ ᏗᏂᏲᎵ ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏘ ᏗᏘᏂᏓᏍᏗ ᏗᏢᏥᎪᎵᏰᏗ ᏓᏂᎾᏙᎬ ᏌᏉ ᎢᏳᏩᎩᏗ ᏋᏕᏗᏴᏓ ᎨᏒᎢ. ᏗᏓᎤᏕᏍᎩ ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏘ ᎯᎪᏩᏛᏗ ᏟᏚᎵᏍᎬ ᏱᎩ ᏕᏟᏙᎥ ᎠᎴ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏑᏰᎵᏛ ᏗᎪᏪᎵᏍᎩ ᎾᏫᏃᎯᏎᏗ ᎢᎬᏱᏗᏢ ᏧᏬᏮᎢ. ᎾᏍᏉ ᏧᎾᏓᎾ ᎠᎴ ᏧᎾᏓᎦᏴᎵᎨ ᎤᏚᎵ ᎣᏍᏓ ᎢᏧᏩᏁᏗ ᏓᏂᎾᏙᎬ ᎠᎴ ᏧᎤᏚᏍᏗ ᏱᎩ ᎠᏎᏃ ᎤᏂᏟᏔ ᏗᏂᏲᎵ ᎤᏍᏗ ᎨᏒ ᎣᏍᏓ ᎢᏗᎨᎬᏁᏗ ᏓᏂᏅᏙᎬ ᎢᎬᏱ ᎤᏟ ᏑᏚᎵᏗ

THERE ARE MANY OTHER PEOPLE...
who work together for your good
health in a hospital.

There are several kinds of:
Nurses, men and women attendants.

There are:
Medical record librarians,
Secretaries,
Maintenance men, cooks,
Persons in administration
and finance, and
Housekeeping staff.



Sometimes there are:
a Hospital Director, and
an Education Specialist (health).

All of these persons work in a hospital so that the **DOCTORS** and their many **HELPERS** can take care of you when you come to our Clinic for treatment or curing.

ᎤᏂᏣᏘᏃ ᎤᏩᎾᏓᎴ ᏰᎾ

ᎤᎾᎵᎪ ᎦᏂᏄᎾᏍᏓᏁ ᎠᏎᏂ ᏧᏂᏢᎩ
ᎤᎾᏂᏢᏗᎢ. ᏂᎯ ᏙᎯ ᏣᏕᏗ ᎤᎬᏩᎵ.
ᎯᏄᏍᎩ ᎢᏳᏓᎴᎩ ᎢᎩ. ᎠᏂᎨᏍ ᏧᏁᎦ
ᏧᎾᏄᎾ ᎤᏏ. ᎠᏂᏍᎦᏍ ᎠᎴ ᎠᏂᎨᏍ
ᎠᎾᎵᏍᏕᏄᎯᏙᎯ. ᎯᎠᏃ ᎾᏍᎩ ᎤᏬᏚ
ᎠᎴ ᎦᏂᎤᏩᏂᏙᏄ ᏗᎪᏪ-Ꮅ ᎦᏂᏍᏚᏂ
ᎪᏮ ᏄᎬᎾᏩᏒ ᏗᎪᏪᎵᏍᎩᎢ. ᎾᏏᏃ Ꮿ
ᏍᏓ ᎢᏳᎤᎧᏕᎩ. ᎠᎾᏓᏍᏰᎸᏍᎩ. ᏧᏂ
ᏢᎩ ᎤᎾᏂᏢᏗ ᎠᎢᏒ ᎠᎴ ᏓᎵᎬᏩᏄᏍ
Ꭼ ᎤᎾᎦᏌᏍᏕᎩ ᎠᎴ ᏗᎤᏃᏌᎯᏙᎯ Ꮎ
ᏍᏉᏃ ᏯᎩᏫᏎ ᏙᎯ ᎠᏕᏗ ᎤᎬᏍᎵ Ꭴ
ᎦᏌᏍᏗᏕᎩ. ᎠᎴ ᏧᏂᏢᎩ ᎤᎾᏂᏢᏗᏄ
ᎬᎾᏩᏌᏕᎩ ᏫᏁᏥᏙᎯ. ᏂᎦᏓ ᎯᎠ Ꭶ
ᏂᏄᎾᏍᏓᏁᏎ ᎠᏎᏂ ᏧᏂᏢᎩ ᎤᎾᏂᏢ
ᏗᎢ. ᎾᏍᎩ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏚ ᎠᎴ
ᎤᏂᏣᏘ ᎬᏩᏂᏍᏕᎵᏍᎩ ᎦᎨᏥᏍᏕᏄ
ᎯᏓᏍᏗ ᎨᏐ ᏯᏣᎸᏣ ᎤᏬᏚ ᎠᎴ ᏒᏣ
ᎤᏬᏚ ᎤᎬᏩᎵ ᎨᏒᎢ

After the Doctor has seen you ...

there are times when he wants to send you to another Doctor...

In *another* city, OR

...at *another* Hospital.

All good Doctors use other doctors with special training and knowledge about certain kinds of sickness. In this way they help each other to give you good treatment to help you to have good health again.

Also, after the Doctor has seen you...

there are times when he feels that you should stay *IN THE HOSPITAL.*

If he tells you this...

we expect that you will stay in because this is an important way the Doctor can treat your sickness.

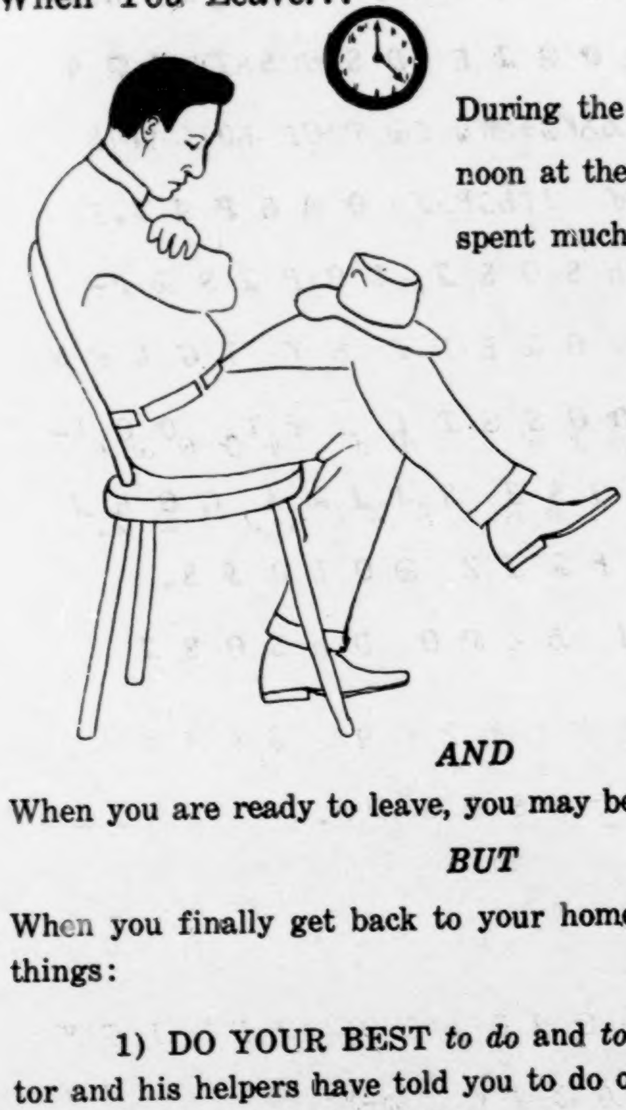
And...

when the Doctor wants your child to stay IN THE HOSPITAL. you help the Doctor to treat your child's sickness by letting your child stay in for treatment or curing.

ᎠᏚᎾᏘ ᏤᏙᎤᎯ ᎤᎦᏩᎰᎡᎤᎯ ᎣᎩ ᏄᏓᎧ ᎠᎧ ᎤᏨᏘᏂ ᎠᏚᎾᏚᏘ·ᏛᏬᏄ ᎾᏤᏓᏍᏗ ᎣᏦᏎᎳ. ᏍᏮᎾ ᎤᏨᏘᏂ ᏗᏚᏕᎲ ᎠᎧ ᏛᏂᎵᎩ ᎤᎾᏂᎵᏗᎢ. ᏂᏚᏓᏃ ᎠᏂᏚᎾᏚᏘ ᏓᎾᎱᏑᎦᏍᎱᏍᎪ ᏓᎾᏓᎤᎾᏑᎬᎠᎧ ᏜᏤ ᎢᏳᏓᎧᎩ ᎣᎵᏥᏙᎲ ᎤᎾᎦᏩᏆᎥ ᎰᏏᎢ. ᎤᎾᏓᎤᏬᏗ. ᎠᏚᎾᏚᏘ ᎦᎫᏗᏍᎪ ᏨᎾᏏᏗ ᎣᎩ. ᎠᎯᏓᎰᏍᏗᏃ ᏍᎾᏓᎤᏊᏚ. ᎣᏓᏂᏄ ᎾᎥ ᎣᏃᏮᎾ ᎠᏂᏚᎾᏚᏘ ᎠᏁᎲᎢ.

ᎢᏳᏃ ᎠᏚᎾᏚᏘ ᏳᏕᎱ ᏨᏫᎲ ᎠᏰᎱ ᏛᏂᎵᎩ ᎤᏰᏫᎯᏍᏍᏗᎢ ᎯᏍᎦᎱᏃ ᎠᏚᎾᏚᏘ ᎤᎤᏬᏗ ᎤᎵᎬ ᎣᏨᎱᏍᎪᏄ ᎳᎾ ᎤᎦᏗᎢ ᎠᏥᎤᏬᏗᎢ

When You Leave...



During the morning or afternoon at the hospital, you have spent much time waiting...

AND

When you are ready to leave, you may be *very, very* tired...

BUT

When you finally get back to your home, think about these things:

1) DO YOUR BEST *to do* and *to take* what the Doctor and his helpers have told you to do or take to treat your sickness or to keep you well;

AND

2) COME BACK to the hospital when the doctor asks you to return;

OR

3) Come back SOONER if you do not begin to get well again in a few days or when the doctor said you should begin to feel better.

ᎮᎵᏃ ᎪᎯᏗ ᏣᎦᏧᏮ ᎩᎳ ᏍᏂᏭ-
ᏧᏓ ᎨᏣᎪᎵᏰᏍᎬᎢ. ᏱᏣᏂᎩᏌᏃ
ᏗᏙᎤᏮᎢ ᏱᎾᏣᎷᏣ ᏤᎵᏂᎬᏁᏄ
ᎢᏣᏮᏂᏗᎢ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏁᏣᏪᏎᏄᎢ.

1. ᎤᏬᏧ ᎯᎩᏍᎬ ᎠᏅ ᏤᎤᎾᏍᎬ
ᎠᎦᎾᎦᏧ ᏄᏪᏒ ᎯᏍᏓᏳᏗᏎᏍᏗ.

2. ᎯᎠᏃ ᎢᏳ ᎢᎮᏙᏄ ᏰᏦᏎᎳ
ᎥᏙᏓᏍᏗ ᎠᏂᎦᎾᎦᏧᎢ.

3. ᎠᏎᏃ ᏂᏣᏗᎾᏭᎬᎾ ᏱᎩ ᎢᏳᏉ
ᎨᏒ ᎥᏣᎷᎯᏍᏗᏉ Ᏹ-Ꭹ

ANY QUESTIONS?

If you have any questions about our hospital *Clinic,*

OR...

If you have any questions about *Your Health...*

Talk with your Doctor or with one of his helpers and they will try to answer your questions.

It is important to understand what to do and how to take care of yourself so you *can get well.*

We want to tell you...

We hope we do help you to have good health again,

OR

help you to keep yourself and your family in good health.

ᎧᎵᎢ ᏃᎵᎬᎾ ᏱᎩ. ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᎢᏍᏆᏂᏗ
ᎨᏒ ᎠᏎᏂ ᎠᏂᎦᎾᎦᏘᎢ. ᎠᎴ ᎠᏎᏂ
ᎤᎾᏓᎪᎵᏰᏗᏱ. ᏞᏍᏗᏃ ᏱᏍᎦᎢᎮᏍᏗ
ᎯᏍᏆᏆᏗ ᎩᎶ ᎢᏳᏍᏗ ᏁᎵᏏᏙᎲᎢ. ᎠᎦ
ᎾᎦᏘ ᏱᎩ ᎠᎴ ᏧᏂᎸᎾᏍᏓᏁᎯ ᏱᎩ. Ꭴ
ᎵᏍᎨᏓᏃ ᎢᎩ ᎧᎵᎢ ᎪᎵᏨᎯ ᏱᎩ. ᎾᏍ
ᎩᏃ ᎢᏍᏆᏂᏗ ᎾᏉ ᎧᎵᎢ ᎪᎵᏨᎯ ᏱᎩ
ᎠᎴ ᏃᏉ ᎤᏓᎵᏏᏂᏙᏗ ᎨᏒᎢ. ᏙᏳ ᎢᎦ
ᎵᏍᏙᏗ ᏆᏟᏱᎶᎯᏳ. ᎣᎦᏚᎵ ᎠᎴ ᎤᏚ
Ꭹ ᎣᎬᏎ ᎢᏨᏍᏕᎸᏗᏱ. ᏙᏳ ᎮᎯ ᎾᎶᏟ
ᏱᎶᎯᏍᏗᎢ ᎠᎴ ᏕᏟᏓᏘᎾᎥᎢ ᎾᏍᏉᏙ
Ꭿ ᎠᏁᎯ ᎢᏳ ᎾᎵᏍᏙᏗᎢ.

THE FOLLOWING PERSONS...

have in some good way helped in making this booklet:

- Key Ketcher
- Alec England
- Andrew Dreadfulwater
- Carole Hermanz
- Finis Smith
- John Ketcher
- Rose Marie Kelly
- Shirley Ann Jones
- Terry Reed
- Robert Thomas
- Juanita Crittenden
- Lizzie England
- Willard Walker

AND, we don't forget the help of:

- Hiner Doublehead
- Sam Hair
- Jim Red Corn

WE WANT TO THANK THEM and any other persons whose names we might have forgotten to write down. We could not have written this booklet without your help.

ᎯᎠᏃ ᎦᎾᏙᎥ ᏥᎦᎪᏯᎳ

ᎤᎾᎱᏍᎦᎸᏓ ᎢᎩ ᎯᎠ ᏗᎪᏯᎱ
ᏓᏙᎵᏍᎬᎢ.
ᏍᎦᎢᏍᏗ ᏗᏚᏂᎣᏍᎩ
ᎡᎱᎩ ᎢᏳᎣ
ᏓᏚᏃᎯᎱ ᎠᏛᎤᏍᏚᏎᏗ
.
ᎠᏲᏓᎶᏗ ᏥᏣ
ᏣᏂ ᏗᏚᏂᎣᏍᎩ
.
.
.
ᏆᏆ ᎣᏚᎾᏍᏙᏓ
ᏚᎷᎩ ᏗᎩᎩᏍᎩ
ᏣᎱ ᎢᏳᎣ
ᎾᎱ ᎡᏙᎯ
ᎥᏞᏃ ᎣᏙᏨᎨᎾᏍᏚ ᎯᎠ ᎦᎾᏙᎥ
ᏥᎦᎪᏯᎳ ᎤᎾᎱᏍᎦᎸᏓ ᎨᏒᎢ..
ᏮᏂᏃᎱ ᏧᏯᎳᏕᎩ
ᏚᏂᏌᎯᏮ ᎩᎵ
ᏥᎻ ᎩᏚᎨᏎᎷ

ᎤᏣᏗᏪ ᏙᏣᎱᎮᎱᏉᎲ ᎠᏛ ᎾᏍᏪ Ꭰ
ᏂᏏᎢ ᎣᏙᎬᎨᎾᏳ ᎦᎾᏙᎥ ᏦᎪᏯᏩᏗ
ᎠᎲᏂ ᎪᏯᎱᎯ. ᏜᎦᏃ ᎣᏙᏚᏲᎪᎵᏁᎯ
Ꭰ ᎪᏯᎱ ᏂᏍᎩᏍᎦᎸᏓ ᎣᎨᏎᎢ

Prepared by the

SOCIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENT
P H S Indian Hospital
Tahlequah, Oklahoma

Cherokee text by

Hiner Doublehead

CARNEGIE CORPORATION CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION PROJECT
of the University of Chicago
at Tahlequah, Oklahoma

Pictures by Jim and Catherine Red Corn

This printing has been edited with the advice and help of:

Reverend Key Ketcher
Alec England
Andrew Dreadfulwater

...and the cooperation of Tahlequah Indian Hospital medical and paramedical staff; Division of Indian Health, Oklahoma City Area staff; interested local agencies; Cherokee and other Indian friends of the hospital.

Tahlequah, Oklahoma
December 1966

ᏴᏫ ᏗᏂᏍᏕᎵᏍᎩ ᎤᎾᏙᏢᏒᎢ

P.H.S.ᎠᏂᏴᏫᏯ ᏧᏂᏢᎩ ᎤᎾᏂᏢᏗ

ᏓᎵᏆ ᎣᎦᎵᎰᎻ

ᏣᎳᎩ ᎢᏳᏩᏁᎸ

ᏛᏂᏃᎵ ᏧᏪᎳᏕᎩ

ᎧᏂᎩ ᎤᏂᎼᏛᏂᏙᎯ ᏧᏂᎸᏫᏍᏓᏁᎯ

ᏗᏂᏍᏆᏗᏍᎩ ᎪᏪᎵ ᏧᎾᏕᎶᏆᏍᏗ ᏥᎳᎪ ᎤᎾᏙᏢᏒ

ᏓᎵᏆ ᎣᎦᎵᎰᎻ

ᏧᎾᏣᎶᏍᏔᏅ ᏥᎻ ᎠᎴ ᎨᏗ ᎩᏍᎨ ᏎᎷ

ᏧᏃᏪᎳᏅᎯ ᎠᎴ ᏧᏂᎴᏴᏔᏅᎯ ᏧᎾᎵᏍᏕᎸᏓ ᎯᎠ

ᎠᎵᏣᏙᎲᏍᎩ ᏍᎦᎢᏍᏗ ᏗᎦᏂᏱᏍᎩ

ᎡᎵᎩ ᎢᏌᏱ

ᏓᎦᏃᎯᎵ ᎠᎴᏅᏍᎦᏎᏗ

ᎠᎴ ᎠᏂᏐᎢ ᏣᎳᎩ ᏗᏂᎪᎵᏰᏍᎩ

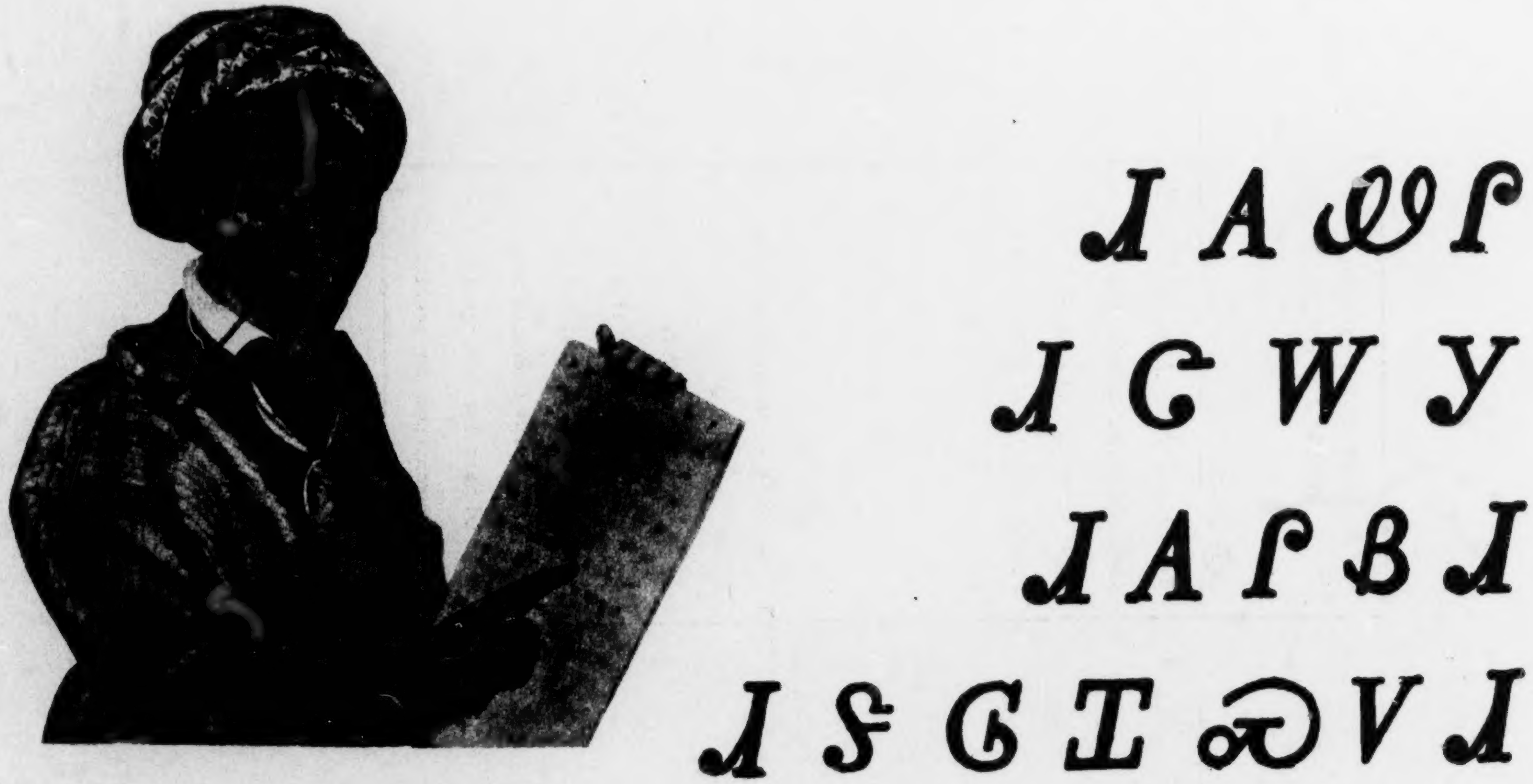
ᎤᎾᏙᏢᏒ ᏓᎵᏆ ᎠᏂᏴᏫᏯ ᏧᏂᏢᎩ ᎤᎾᏂᏢᏗ ᎠᎴ ᎾᏍᎩ ᏄᏍᏛ ᎤᎾᏓᏁᎸ ᎠᏂᎦᎾᎦᏘᏱ ᎤᏙᏍᎴᏛ ᎠᏂᏴᏫᏯ ᏙᎯ ᎤᎾᏕᏗ ᎤᎬᏩᎵ ᎣᎦᎵᎰᎻ ᏏᏗ ᎤᏃᏢᏒᎢ.ᎠᏉᏂ ᎨᏥᎦᏘᏗᏍᏗ ᎠᏁᎲ ᎤᏂᎫᏍᏓᎠ.ᎤᏂᏣᏘ ᎠᏂᏣᎳᎩ ᎠᎴ ᎠᏂᏐᎢ ᎠᏂᏴᏫᏯ ᏧᏂᏢᎩ ᎤᎾᏂᏢᏗ ᎤᎾᎵᎢ

ᏓᎵᏆ ᎣᎦᎵᎰᎻ ᎥᏍᎩᏱ 1966.ᎤᏕᏘᏴᏌᏗᏒᎢ

ᎯᎠ ᏗᎪᏪᎵ ᎤᏓᎽᎵᏍ ᏗᏓᏓᏍᏔᏅᏴ
ᎠᏅᏓᏗᏍᏙᏗ ᎢᏨᎨᏍᏙᏗ

ᎤᏓᏅ ᏗᎦᏂᏲᏍᎩ ᏍᏚᏧ. ᎤᏓᏟᏰᏓ ᏧᏁᏮ
ᏍᏓᏁᏄᏴ ᎠᎴᏗᎪᏪᎵᏍᎩ ᎨᏒᎩ ᎱᏎᏂ
ᏧᏂᎵᎩ ᎤᎾᏂᎵᏗᎢ. ᎠᏣᎳᎩᏍ ᎨᏒᎩ.ᎠᏎ
ᏍᏓᏰᏳ ᏚᏄᎾᏍᏓᏁᏗ ᏚᏓᏗᎾᏆ ᎠᎴ
ᏧᎾᏁᎶᏗ ᎤᎾᏓᏡᎬ ᎠᎴ ᏂᎦᏓᏍ ᎠᏂᏣᎳᎩ
ᏓᏍᏕᎵᏍᎬᎢ

This book is dedicated to the
memory of
ELLA MAE DOUGHERTY
a former employee of the
Tahlequah Indian Hospital.
She was a true Cherokee who
worked hard for her family,
her church, and her people.



0449- 0521 BROAD 89-101 0449 BROAD

ᏗᎪᏪᎵ ᏗᏣᎳᎩ ᏗᎪᎵᏰᏗ ᏗᏕᏣᏖᏍᏙᏗ

(CHEROKEE PRIMER)

688/ (689)

Willard Walker

Copyright © 1965 by the Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural
Education Project of the University of Chicago

Printed at the Northeastern State College Press

First printing March 1965
Second printing October 1965
Revised edition December 1965

Tahlequah, Oklahoma 1965

Copyrighted material removed

690/762

This book is designed to help Cherokee speakers learn to read Cherokee. It is based on techniques learned at the Harvard Center for Programmed Instruction and on research financed by the Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural Education Project through the University of Chicago. It was written with the assistance of Wesley Proctor (ᏣᏂᏫᎱᏌ ᎠᎬᏙᏏ), Hiner Doublehead (ᏮᏂᏃᎱ ᏧᏫᎳᏕᎩ), Sam H. Hair (ᏑᏂᏛᎯᏮ ᎩᎵ), Louis Gourd (ᎷᏉ ᏕᏭᎾ), and Jim Wolfe (ᏥᎾᏇ ᏩᏯ).

The second edition was revised by Rev. Key Ketcher (ᏯᏚᎢᏯᎫ ᎫᏕᏂᏉᏯᎩ), Alex England (ᎠᎱᎩ ᎢᏌᏯ), Willie Jumper (ᎾᎱ ᎫᎱᎳᏕᎩ), Jack Kilpatrick, and Willard Walker. Pictures by Merrill Cason.

W. W.

December, 1965

Tahlequah, Oklahoma

CHEROKEE STORIES

by

Rev. Watt Spade and Willard Walker

with the help of

Alec England　Lizzie England

Juanita Crittenden　Johnson Tehee

Sam H. Hair

Pictures by Jim Redcorn

Tahlequah, Oklahoma　June, 1966

764

Copyright © 1966 by the
Carnegie Corporation
Cross-Cultural Education Project
of the
University of Chicago

Published by The Laboratory of Anthropology,
Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut

Available from:
Carnegie Project
P.O. Box 473
Tahlequah, Oklahoma
74464

Copyrighted Material Removed

ᎪᏎᏍᏂᎩ ᎠᏁᏏ ᎠᏂᏣᎳᎩ
The Cherokee People Today

ᏧᏭᏭᏴ ᎠᏗᏌ ᎬᏂᎨᏒ ᏭᎶᏁᏭᎢ
By Albert L. Wahrhaftig

ᎾᏂᏟ ᎤᏩᏢᎾᎢ
Translated by Calvin Nackedhead

ᏍᏂ ᏧᏟᎶᏍᏔᏅᎢ ᏓᏟᎶᏍᏛᎢ
Drawings by Donald Vann

Donald Vann-66

765/(795)

CHEROKEE SYLLABARY
ᏣᎳᎩ ᏗᏕᎶᏆᏍᏗ

Ꭰ a	Ꭱ e	Ꭲ i	Ꭳ o	Ꭴ u	Ꭵ v
Ꭶ ga Ꭷ ka	Ꭸ ge	Ꭹ gi	Ꭺ go	Ꭻ gu	Ꭼ gv
Ꭽ ha	Ꭾ he	Ꭿ hi	Ꮀ ho	Ꮁ hu	Ꮂ hv
Ꮃ la	Ꮄ le	Ꮅ li	Ꮆ lo	Ꮇ lu	Ꮈ lv
Ꮉ ma	Ꮊ me	Ꮋ mi	Ꮌ mo	Ꮍ mu	
Ꮎ na	Ꮑ ne	Ꮒ ni	Ꮓ no	Ꮔ nu	Ꮕ nv
Ꮏ hna	Ꮐ nah				
Ꮖ kwa	Ꮗ kwe	Ꮘ kwi	Ꮙ kwo	Ꮚ kwu	Ꮛ kwv
Ꮜ sa Ꮝ s	Ꮞ se	Ꮟ si	Ꮠ so	Ꮡ su	Ꮢ sv
Ꮣ da	Ꮥ de	Ꮧ di	Ꮩ do	Ꮪ du	Ꮫ dv
Ꮤ ta	Ꮦ te	Ꮨ ti			
Ꮬ dla Ꮭ tla	Ꮮ tle	Ꮯ tli	Ꮰ tlo	Ꮱ tlu	Ꮲ tlv
Ꮳ tsa	Ꮴ tse	Ꮵ tsi	Ꮶ tso	Ꮷ tsu	Ꮸ tsv
Ꮹ wa	Ꮺ we	Ꮻ wi	Ꮼ wo	Ꮽ wu	Ꮾ wv
Ꮿ ya	Ᏸ ye	Ᏹ yi	Ᏺ yo	Ᏻ yu	Ᏼ yv

ᎾᏍᎩᏃ ᏱᏗᏣᏚᎵ ᎯᎠᎢᏧᏍᏗ ᏗᎪᏪᎵ, ᎪᏪᎵ ᎡᎯᏅᏅᎢ ᎠᎭᏂ:

(If you want a copy of this book, write to the following address:)

Carnegie Project
P. O. Box 473
Tahlequah, Oklahoma 74464

ᏂᎦᏓ ᏣᎳᎩ ᎠᏂᏬᏂᏍᎩ ᎨᏒ ᎾᏍᎩ ᎯᎠ ᎪᏪᎵ ᎠᏎᏊ ᏧᏂᏁᏍᏗ.

(It is free to all speakers of Cherokee.)

For those who do not speak Cherokee, price $1.00

©
Copyright 1966
by the Carnegie Corporation
Cross-Cultural Education Project

Copyrighted material removed

AN INVESTIGATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR THE INDIAN IN NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA

(By Ross Underwood)

Let me open by saying that I have never been nor am I now affiliated with any Indian organization. I am not connected in any way with any group, therefore the statistics that I state are valid from the standpoint that they have not been interpreted for the purposes of either promoting or proving points for any group. The statements that follow were compiled for my doctoral dissertation at the University of Oklahoma and are presented for informational purposes only:

1. In the 1964 report of the Oklahoma State Board of Regents of Higher Education, it was shown that only 209 American Indians were among the entering freshman class of 13,276 in our thirty-two Oklahoma colleges in the fall semester of 1962. This represented only 1.6 per cent of the total population, yet over one-third of the 523,591 American Indians lived in Oklahoma.

2. In the three most heavily Indian populated counties in Oklahoma, an average of 19 per cent of all county residents were Indian. Adair County ranked first with 23.2 per cent, followed by Cherokee with 17.8 per cent, and Delaware with 15.9 per cent. The total population of these three counties was 44,072 with 8,307 being Cherokee. Other minor tribes dotted the population rolls in addition to these.

3. One sampling from the 1965 Cherokee County Census of Indians Under the Age of Eighteen showed that 1,050 Indians within these age limits lived within the school districts of the county, yet only 24 Indian students graduated from the high schools in the county in 1965. These statistics did not include Sequoyah Indian School operated by the Federal Government.

4. In Adair, Cherokee, and Delware counties, 7,788 residents were listed on the welfare rolls in 1965. Of this number 2,405 were Indians. Delaware County ranked first with 36 per cent of its welfare cases being Indian, followed by Adair with 31 per cent, and Cherokee with 23 per cent. The Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission listed on its annual Report of 1964 a total of 1,326 families on welfare in these three counties, with 547 families being Indian.

5. Adair County was listed on a March 29, 1965 White House list of 185 counties in the United States eligible for 100 per cent federal aid in the anti-poverty program. Adair county's per capita annual income was $706.00 compared to the national average of $1,850.00 based upon census bureau figures.

6. The State Department of Education listed in 1956 ninety-four approved elementary schools in these three counties. This represented a large number in relationship to the rest of the counties in the State of Oklahoma. The majority of these schools were one and two teacher schools administered by a county superintendent.

7. Visitations by the author to the many elementary districts indicated that a very limited opportunity for education was available to Indian and white pupils in these schools. In addition, many traditional influences were present which significantly contributed to a poor climate for learning. This economically depressed and geographically isloated area, which is a part of the Ozark Plateau, further handicapped by large numbers of families clinging resolutely to the Indian way of life, magnify the educational difficulties faced by these schools.

8. Forty-six of seventy-four, or 62.1 per cent of the elementary schools outside of the high school districts were one and two teacher schools. The teachers taught with the multi-grade system within the self-contained classroom. The prevalence of large numbers of Indian pupils who lack minimum proficiencies in the use of English contributes to the problem of adequately providing for individual differences and an effective program of education for each of the pupils.

9. No extensive holding power studies had been conducted in the counties of Adair, Cherokee, and Delaware. The author collected data and launched a drop-out study in early November of 1965, and the entire study was limited to holding power among Indian pupils.

Results of the data indicated that the two most critical areas of drop-outs among Indians in these counties, as for drop-outs in general, occurred between the eighth and ninth grades, and between the ninth and tenth grades. This was accounted for in part by the fact that many Indian students refused to be transported to the secondary schools from the feeder elementary schools.

A careful investigation revealed that a continuous and steady decline in enrollment of Indian pupils occurred from grade one through grade twelve. The school years of 1954–1955 and 1964–1965 indicated a drop-out rate of between 70 and 75 per cent. This far exceeded the national average of 40 to 50 per cent.

No apparent provisions were made by the school systems to prevent drop-outs.

The daily attendance records for the 1965–1966 school year showed that only 264 Indian students were enrolled in the ninth grades of the high schools in the three counties of Adair, Cherokee, and Delaware. These reports were made in November of 1965. The 1964–1965 daily attendance records had reported 371 Indian students enrolled in the eighth grades in the three counties. This would indicate a loss of 107 students in the transfer from rural to city districts.

A decline in the number of Indian students was also noted in the transfer from grades nine to ten. In the 1964–1965 school year 253 Indian students were enrolled in the ninth grades of the three counties, yet in the 1965–1966 school year only 169 were enrolled in grade ten. This would indicate a loss of 84 students in the transfer from junior high to senior high school in the city districts.

Although the data for the 1954–1955 school year was incomplete, it indicated a similar pattern of holding power. Complete daily registers were not kept under the column "Indian," in many schools. The only available reports concerning these Indians covered only those transported outside the school district.

10. An investigation of Socio-economic Conditions Among the Cherokees Including a Survey of 100 Rural Indian Households showed that 56 per cent of the Cherokees speak only the Indian language, while 41 per cent spoke English and only 3 per cent spoke both languages and and could be classified as bi-lingual.

The educational attainment of the household heads average 4.9 grade level completion. Several studies established that fourth grade or less indicated functional illiteracy. The sample showed that fifty-two per cent of all Cherokees under the age of twenty-five were functional illiterates compared with 13.9 per cent for the population of Oklahoma as a whole, from the 1960 census.

A favorable comparison with the 1953 survey conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs implied that in 1965 the age distribution had not significantly changed since the earlier study. It was found that 53.2 per cent are 0–10 year; 26.1 per cent are 20–39; 13.6 per cent are 40–59; and 7.1 per cent are 60 and over.

The following statistics are concerned with occupational attainment: unskilled, 32 per cent; semi-skilled, 3 per cent; skilled, 4 per cent; professional, 0 per cent; self employed, 29 per cent; unemployed, 6 per cent; and not in labor market, 26 per cent. The average income from this survey was $698.00.

Physical facilities showed that only nine percent of the households had purified water, seven per cent had inside toilets, and thirty-four per cent had electricity. Twenty-six per cent had NO VISIBLE toilet facilities.

The survey indicated that the homes of most Indian students did not contain facilities and a cultural environment which would equip the Indian child or youth to adjust to the conditions generally faced in the schools to be attended. Equality of educational opportunity is idle phraseology when applied to the Indian of northeastern Oklahoma.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Adequate educational opportunity is not likely to be forthcoming in this geographical area until effective reorganization of local school districts occurs.
2. The failure of high school districts in the three counties to meet minimum acceptable criteria with regard to enrollment, curriculum, and educational services indicates a lack of equality of educational opportunity for students in virtually all of these school districts.
3. The low holding power of these school districts for Indian pupils together with the lack of special provisions designed to meet their unique educational needs indicates that equality of educational opportunity is sadly lacking for most of these students.
4. Very little awareness appears present at both local and state educational levels with regard to the need for improved education in these three counties for both Indian and white students.
5. The great number of small one or two room schools in these counties and the apparent difficulties involved in closing them indicates that little can be expected to improve the educational opportunities for Indians in the near future.
6. Extensive collaboration between local, state, and federal educational agencies appears necessary if the educational needs of Indians are to be met in northeastern Oklahoma.

THE IMMUNIZATION PROFILE OF ALL INFANTS AND PRESCHOOLERS BORN AT P.H.S. INDIAN HOSPITAL, TAHLEQUAH, OKLAHOMA, BETWEEN JULY 1, 1960, AND MAY 30, 1966

Fiscal year 1961 (children now 5 to 6 years of age):

Newborn admissions	360
Deceased or ineligible	−23
Charts examined	337

Two (2) children of the 337 are *completely* immunized. This represents 0.6% of the 337 children still eligible for treatment at this facility.

43 of the 337 children have been effectively immunized against DPT and polio. This is 12.7% of the 337 children born this fiscal year.

12 of these 337 children have been vaccinated against measles. This is but 3.5% of these 337 boys and girls.

15 of the 337 children have received protection against smallpox. This is 4.4% of the 337.

113 children of the 337 (33.5%) returned to the hospital within two months of birth for their first vaccination.

Fiscal year 1962 (children now 4 to 5 years of age):

Newborn admissions	379
Deceased or ineligible	−11
Charts examined	368

2 of the 368 children are *completely* immunized. This represents 0.5% of the 368.

65 of the 368 boys and girls are immunized against DPT and polio. This is 17.6% of the 368.

20 of the 368 have received the measles vaccine. This represents 5.4% of the total newborn this fiscal year.

19 of these 368 boys and girls have been vaccinated against smallpox. This is but 5% of the 368.

157 of the 369 (42.6%) children returned to this hospital to begin immunizations within 2 months of birth.

Fiscal year 1963 (children now 3 to 4 years of age):

Newborn admissions	377
Deceased or ineligible	−15
Charts examined	362

6 of these 362 boys and girls are *completely* immunized. This is but 1.6% of this number.

105 of the 362 (29%) are immunized against DPT and polio.

53 of the 362 (14.6%) have received the measles vaccine.

18 of the 362 (5%) have been vaccinated against smallpox.

199 of these 362 boys and girls returned to the hospital within 2 months of birth to begin immunizations. This figure represents a 55% return.

Fiscal year 1964 (children now 2 to 3 years of age):

Newborn admissions	372
Deceased or ineligible	−22
Records analyzed	350

12 children of the 350 are *completely* immunized. This is 3% of the 350 babies born this fiscal year.

148 of the 350 are now protected against DPT and polio (42%).

70 of the 350 babies have received the measles vaccine (20%).

20 of the children have been vaccinated against smallpox (5.7%).

224 of the 350 (64%) returned to the hospital for their first vaccination within two months of birth.

Fiscal year 1965 (children now 1 to 2 years of age):

Newborn admissions	386
Deceased or ineligible	—22
Charts examined	364

17 of the 364 children (4.67%) are *completely* immunized.

150 of the 364 have completed DPT and polio immunizations (41%).

95 of the 364 babies have had measles vaccine (26%).

23 of the 364 have had smallpox vaccine (6.3%).

261 of the 364 children (71%) returned to the hospital within two months after birth to begin immunizations.

Fiscal year 1966 (infants under 1 year of age):

Newborn admissions through May 30, 1966	291
Deceased or ineligible	—13

57 charts examined for those children born between July 1, 1965, and September 7, 1965.

5 of the 57 children (9%) have completed *all* immunizations.

18 of the 57 children (31%) have completed immunizations for DPT and polio.

226 charts were examined of children born this fiscal year through February 28, 1966, who are now old enough to have completed their DPT and polio immunizations.

77 of the 226 (34%) are safe from DPT and polio.

168 of the 226 babies born through February 28, 1966, returned to the hospital within two months of birth for their first immunization. This is a 74% return.

CONCLUSION

Only 44 of 1838 (2%) infants and preschoolers born between July 1, 1960, and September 7, 1965, who are *now old enough to have completed all immunizations*, have done so.

588 children of 2007 (29%) born between July 1, 1960, and February 28, 1966, who are now old enough to have completed immunizations against DPT and polio, are deemed safe from these diseases.

260 children of 1838 (14%) born between July 1, 1960, and September 7, 1965, have received measles vaccine.

104 children of 1838 (5%) have received vaccinations against smallpox.

An *average* of 56.6% of all children born between July 1, 1960, and February 28, 1966, *returned* for their first immunizations *within two months of their birth*.

A more significant figure is illustrated by the fact that 1372 of the 1838 children born between July 1, 1960, and September 7, 1965, *have* returned to this hospital to initiate immunizations at some period of time.

Briefly stated, 75% of the children mentioned in the preceding paragraph, *have* at one time or another in their lives, come to the hospital and received immunizations, *YET ONLY 2%* OF THIS GREAT NUMBER OF INFANTS AND PRESCHOOLERS *ARE* DEEMED *COMPLETELY IMMUNIZED* AGAINST DIPHTHERIA, WHOOPING COUGH, LOCKJAW, POLIO, MEASLES AND SMALLPOX.

Evidence indicates a lack of understanding, encouragement, and other motivating factors, by our beneficiaries, of the significance of completing a series of immunizations of a given type in a specified time.

Numerous beneficiaries regard *any* type "shot" as a magical potion concocted to offset *any* and *all* diseases (symbolic with penicillin, used to combat numerous infections).

That greater educational effort be directed at parents, in order that they comprehend the dangers of these preventable diseases, and bring their children to this hospital until *all* immunizations *are complete*, is manifest.

BENNETT M. GUTHRIE,
Education Specialist (Health),
Tahlequah Service Unit.

PROBLEMS OF OKLAHOMA YOUTH FROM TRADITIONAL INDIAN HOMES

(By Harold Cameron, Human Relations Center, the University of Oklahoma)

Thousands of young Oklahoma Indians are today unable to enter the organizations and activities available to them in their schools and their communities. These young people are constantly struggling with the many problems which result because they are truly the products of two cultures.

The purpose of this article is to discuss some of the problems encountered by young Oklahomans from traditional Indian homes as they attempt to function in a world of two cultures.

These young people are those who are biologically Indian (although the degree of Indian blood may be less than 100 percent) and who come from homes in which much of the traditional Indian culture is retained—beliefs, customs, value system, and for some, the native Indian language.

Until about the age of six, youngsters from traditional Indian homes are taught "to be Indian." However, in the years following they are exposed to a non-Indian school system which provides programs that usually make little provision for the fact that the Indian students' backgrounds are quite different from the white majority. The schools also seldom provide special guidance services which are needed to aid the Indian youngsters in their very difficult journey of transition into the mainstream of American life. After several years of constant exposure to two, and often conflicting, cultures these youngsters become confused as to their place in the communities. Moreover, they often even begin to doubt that they have a place in society.

In a recent interview, several teenager Indians in a western Oklahoma community were asked, "How do the traditions and customs of Indians fit in with the lives of Indian teenagers of today?" One seventeen-year-old girl answered, "Well, I think that the Indian kids of today think that their customs and ways are a little bit old-fashioned and that they would rather want to be a part of the newer generation of the world coming on, and they would want to be up-to-date and have some of the latest things coming on." Another seventeen-year-old girl said, "I think it's very hard to live in both cultures and it's hard to choose. You want to be one of them, but yet it's so hard you can't choose."

In many areas of Oklahoma, until ten to twenty years ago, concentrations of Indian people lived in somewhat isolated groups or in villages on lands which had been allotted to them by the United States Government as a result of the treaties with the various Indian tribes. These people spoke an Indian tongue and they accepted as the approved way of life the Indian customs, traditions, and value system. They usually held all the Indian activities of the area in local Indian community halls. In these communities the Indian way of life was assured of continuing because the Indian people themselves reprimanded and at times punished those who deviated from the "Indian ways."

Although the Indians often lived only a few miles from an established "all white" community, there was frequently little contact between the two groups until the Indians began to come to the communities for supplies. They resisted the "whiteman's world" as foreign and undesirable while recognizing that it was pressing increasingly upon them.

When the land allotments could no longer support the increasing number of families who attempted to live from its income, the Indians began to move into the formerly all white communities. (In most cases this income came from leasing the land to non-Indians because only a small percentage of the Indians ever farmed their lands.) The migration to the non-Indian communities resulted in a gradual transition by the younger Indians from the traditional Indian ways. This transition (which could be termed forced transition) has resulted in the loss of much of the security which was formerly enjoyed when the Indians lived in their separate communities.

In an attempt to find this lost security, and at times in an attempt to find a lost meaning for life itself, many Indians have attempted to substitute some of the whiteman's activities and organizations to replace some of the traditional Indian ways. These attempts, by and large, have been unsuccessful for several reasons. The cultural background of the traditional Indian does not prepare them to successfully function in these organizations and activities. Also many Indians have serious communication problems. Adding to an already complicated situation are the suspicions and feelings of guilt held by many white people and the unwillingness on the part of some white citizens in many communities to fully accept the Indians as equals.

Some Indians have turned to the Native American Church (Peyote group), the pow-wow club, or the revived warrior and dance societies as substitute Indian activities within which to achieve satisfaction in living, a feeling of belonging, and a feeling of worth.

Those Indians who have not been successful in finding satisfaction either in the Indian ways or in the substitute whiteman's activities frequently have turned to other activities such as alcoholism, delinquency, crime, and promiscuous behavior. It is this latter group of very disturbed people who have helped to earn for the Indian people the stereotype of drunkenness, laziness, worthlessness, etc.

Young Oklahoma Indians from traditional homes are faced with all the serious problems resulting from this forced transition from one culture to another, but unlike their parents (grandparents in areas of the state) they do not have the reassuring and satisfying memories of a time when the Indian way was the only way of life.

The effects of the differences in cultures between the Indian and non-Indian students (which so often is accompanied by differences in social and economic levels) can be noticed early in elementary school but these differences begin to take its full effect in junior high school. Many attend school regularly in elementary school but the attendance often becomes poor during the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. In some communities the number of Indians who do not finish high school is so large that dropping out of school is accepted as the rule rather than the exception. The principal of one Oklahoma High School indicated that about 33 percent of his students are Indian, but approximately 80 percent of all student absentees and dropouts are Indian. Another western Oklahoma school system reports that approximately 25 percent of its school enrollment of 400 are Indian; yet only 11 Indians have graduated from that school in the last 40 years.

In a recently completed study conducted in three eastern Oklahoma counties, the dropout rate among Indian students in public schools was found to be approximately 70 percent.

During the fall and winter of 1965–66 in conversations held with the administrators of some twenty high schools in the western portion of Oklahoma, it was learned that the problems the schools face in working with Indian students are many. The Indian students usually do not take part in the schools' activities such as athletics, music, and clubs, and they frequently do not seemingly have the confidence necessary to allow them to enter into normal classroom activities such as group discussions.

The administrators of two high schools said that the Indian students were so fearful of being laughed at they refuse to participate in any activity. Indian students have repeatedly said that they simply will not take part in any of the schools' activities for fear of being ridiculed after making a mistake. One student said, "I don't speak up or take part because people don't like it when an Indian speaks up. People think that all Indians are dumb so I might as well be dumb, too."

In a recent interview five senior Indian girls of a western Oklahoma community said that most Indian students are fearful that they will not be successful if they try to participate in the schools' activities and, therefore, they segregate themselves whenever possible. These particular girls are active in their schools' activities and as a result of their participation they are forced to endure the ridicule of other non-participating Indian students.

A factor complicating the situation of Oklahoma Indian youth from traditional Indian homes occurs when the majority of the more aggressive and success-minded Indians (success-minded in terms of non-Indian values), after once becoming educated, do not remain to become productive members of their communities. Because the communities frequently do not offer employment opportunities for them, and also because they must often endure the strong negative social pressures from other less educated Indians, they move from the "Indian communities," and the guidance and support they could give the Indian youth who are attempting to make the transition into the mainstream of society are lost.

When the more aggressive and better educated Indians leave the communities, the youngsters are often left without adult success-models and they are often left without adequate guidance and training from older Indians in "proper" social behavior.

This lack of success-models and adequate guidance is social behavior, added to the complicated problems of transition often creates tragic results. Of the juveniles who came before the judge in one western Oklahoma county during the months of June and December, 1965, 53 percent were Indian. The Indian population of this county as reported in the 1960 United States census was only 10.8 percent. In another western Oklahoma county 10 of the 13 (77 percent) juveniles who came before the county judge in 1965 were Indian. According to the 1960 U.S. census the Indian population of this county was 1.9 percent. In a third county in which the 1960 census reported the Indian population to be 7.8 percent, 45 of the 47 (96 percent) juveniles who came before the judge in 1965 were Indians.

Hopefully this article suggests several challenges to administrators, teachers, and counselors who work in schools attended by students who come from traditional Indian homes.

Certainly, much of the knowledge and some of the special skills needed by teachers who work with Indian youngsters from traditional Indian homes are not obtained in most teacher training programs. The youngsters, because of the uniqueness of their home training, are not usually easily understood by those attempting to work with them—including the teachers who see them each day in their classrooms. The first challenge then is for the school administrators to provide and the teachers to take part in in-service training programs designed to fully acquaint teachers with the uniqueness of the Indian students' background and the ways this effects the students' school performance.

Working with traditional Indian parents is often very challenging for the schools. While these parents may verbally strongly favor education for their children, they may see the school as an institution which is training their children in ways which are "not Indian." These parents may, therefore, view the educational process with a great amount of ambivalence. On the one hand, if they discourage their children from getting an education, they know that their children probably will remain outside of the mainstream of society. On the other hand, if they encourage their children to become educated, they realize they are apt to "lose" them to the "whiteman's world" as was discussed earlier. Successfully working with these parents will test the resourcefulness of most of the schools' personnel.

The newly enacted anti-poverty and education legislation offers an exciting challenge to the schools. Schools which formerly were understaffed, underfinanced, and frequently barely able to provide minimum education for its students now have the opportunity to develop new and bold programs to provide maximum educational opportunities to all students—including students from traditional Indian homes.

These new programs might include some needed curriculum revisions. Bold new guidance programs—both in the schools for the students and in the communities and homes for the parents—may well be called for. Classes which provide social training for Indian students, held after regular school hours, would probably help fill a definite need.

Programs designed to aid Indian students from traditional Indian homes should not only make opportunities available to them but should provide means of constantly encouraging them to actively participate. These Indian students more than any other students in Oklahoma frequently will not participate without being skillfully guided and encouraged.

Oklahoma has no Indian reservations although its Indian population is exceeded by only one other state. Since there are no reservations in the state the Indian people have much pressure upon them to make the transition from the traditional Indian culture to the dominate American culture.

How rapidly and how successfully the traditional Indian people can be educated to the point where they can stand beside other Americans and become contributing members of their communities will be another test of Oklahoma's greatness.

A Study of the Indian Population Residing in Blaine County, Okla.

(Prepared by Oklahoma Employment Security Commission, Oklahoma State Employment Service, Research and Planning Division, Will Rogers Memorial Office Building, Oklahoma City, Okla.—September 1966)

Information pertaining to the various Indian residents of Oklahoma is very limited. U.S. Census publications break out only a few categories regarding Indians. Although the aggregate number of this race in the United States may be small, in certain Oklahoma counties the Indian accounts for a sizeable portion of the population. This applies especially to Blaine County, which, at one time, was part of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation. Many members of these tribes still reside in Blaine County. For example, according to the U.S. Census, Indians numbered 949 in 1960, a figure equal to 7.9 percent of the County's 12,077 population.

Cultural differences between the Indian and the White Man often present problems difficult to resolve. To learn more about the Indians in Blaine County and their social characteristics, the civic leaders of the County asked the Oklahoma State Employment Service to assist in conducting a survey. Furthermore, in early April 1966, field work was undertaken by members of the Community Employment Development Division through the Employment Service program to provide assistance to smaller communities. Specifically, interviewers visited three separate areas in Blaine County completing job applications on the Indians.

The objective of the study was to obtain accurate data on the Indians of Blaine County. More specifically, the age, sex, marital status, education, income and work history was sought for those 14 years of age and over. In addition, the number of children under 14 and their age, grade in school, or education attainment was secured.

Past experience indicated that special efforts would be necessary to obtain the cooperation of the Indians. This was accomplished through the assistance of an Indian leader who successfully contacted the residents, advising them of the purpose for the survey. Following paragraphs summarize the data developed by the survey.

At the time of this study, Blaine County had a minimum of 1,005 Indian residents.[1] Cheyenne-Arapaho Indians are concentrated in three areas of the County; Watonga, Canton and Geary. Some 35.0 and 34.2 percent of those interviewed lived in the first two mentioned communities with 19.6 in Geary and 11.2 percent in other areas of the County. Those Indians 14 years old or over numbered 552, while 453 were under 14 years of age. Only 147 of the adults were heads of households, thus the population per household was 6.8 persons.

The median age of all Indians in the study was 16.8 years; males with 17.6 and females 16.1 median years. Considering only those Indians 14 and over, the median age of this group was 32.7, comprised of men, 33.3, and women, 31.8 years.

Males numbered 513, or 51.0 percent and females 492, or 49.0 percent of the Indian population in Blaine County. Those 14 and over were divided between 292 males and 260 females. Fifty percent of those in this age group were married, 34.4 percent were single, 8.3 widowed, 4.7 divorced and 2.6 percent were separated.

The median school years completed by those 25 years old or over was 9.6 years. This appears to be relatively high, however, many of these Indians had attended free boarding schools provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Also, this indicates the actual school attainment but does not reflect the true or functioning educational level. Only four Indians in this age group had attended college, while 59, or 16.2 percent had completed high school.

According to the survey, of those persons 14 years old or over only 46.9 percent, or 259 out of 552, reported having earned money during 1965. The median family income was $847 for those with earnings. Moreover, only 23 reported earnings of $2,500 or more during the year. Another average was figured for those who were currently employed. This group reported a median family income of $1,350 for 1965. Indians either without or failing to report income numbered 293, or 53.1 percent of the 14 and over age group. However, many indicated they received some type of welfare aid. The economic status of this large Indian group is far below the generally accepted poverty level and raising the living standards of this minority group is one of the prime objectives of the Blaine County leaders.

Job applications were completed by the 552 individuals interviewed that were 14 years old and over. Of this group, only 75 were currently employed, 69 males and 6 females. Those who had worked previously, but were currently unemployed, numbered 185, males 145 and females 40. The remaining persons, 292, had no previous work history. Considering those in the Indian labor force, employed and unemployed, joblessness equaled 71.2 percent for Blaine County Indians, males were 67.8 and females 87.0 percent.

To explain the reasons for such high unemployment would consume volumes of written material. Briefly stated, the cultural and economic history of the Cheyenne-Arapaho has created a situation which does not encourage many of the Indians to compete and function by standards of our present-day society.

---

[1] An actual census was taken on 1,005 and despite extensive efforts it is assumed others were not counted. One source, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Concho Agency, Concho, Oklahoma, has estimated there are 1,200 Indians in Blaine County.

INDIANS LIVING IN BLAINE COUNTY, OKLA.—RESULTS OF A SURVEY CONDUCTED IN APRIL 1966

Item	Total	Male	Female
Number surveyed	1,005.0	513.0	492.0
Percent	100.0	51.0	49.0
14 years old and over	552.0	292.0	260.0
Under 14 years old	453.0	221.0	232.0
Median age	16.8	17.6	16.1
Heads of household	147.0		

Residence (those 14 years old and over)	Total	Percent
Number surveyed	552	100.0
Geary	108	19.6
Canton	189	34.2
Watonga	193	35.0
Other areas of Blaine County	62	11.2

	Total	Male	Female
Total labor force	260	214	46
Employed	75	69	6
Unemployed	185	145	40
Rate of unemployment (percent)	71.2	67.8	87.0

Unemployed status	Total	Percent
Unemployed—Number	185	100.0
Duration:		
1 to 2 weeks	11	5.9
3 to 4 weeks	15	8.1
5 to 14 weeks	16	8.7
15 weeks and over	143	77.3

AGE OF CHILDREN[1]

Age	Total	Percent	Male	Percent	Female	Percent
Number surveyed	453	100.0	221	100.0	232	100.0
0 to 4 years	157	34.7	83	37.5	74	31.9
5 to 9 years	183	40.4	85	38.5	98	42.2
10 to 13 years	113	24.9	53	24.0	60	25.9

[1] Those under 14 years of age.

FAMILY INCOME

	Total with income		Employed persons only	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Number reporting income[1]	259	100.0	75	100.0
$1 to $499	63	24.3	5	6.6
$500 to $999	95	36.7	18	24.0
$1,000 to $1,499	39	15.1	20	26.7
$1,500 to $1,999	21	8.1	12	16.0
$2,000 to $2,499	18	7.0	9	12.0
$2,500 to $2,999	6	2.3	2	2.7
$3,000 to $3,499	5	1.9	2	2.7
$3,500 to $3,999	6	2.3	4	5.3
$4,000 or more	6	2.3	3	4.0
Median family income	$847		$1,350	

[1] None reported, 293.

Marital status (those 14 years old and over)	Percent
Total	100.0
Married	50.0
Single	34.4
Widowed	8.3
Divorced	4.7
Separated	2.6

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Grade	Those 25 years old and over (highest grade completed)		Those under 25 years of age (current grade or highest attained)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	365	100.0	640	100.0
None	11	3.0	[1] 213	[1] 33.3
Elementary:				
1 to 4	17	4.7	153	23.9
5 to 6	36	9.9	53	8.3
7	31	8.5	36	5.6
8	54	14.8	39	6.1
High school:				
1 to 3	153	41.9	120	18.8
4	59	16.2	22	3.4
College:				
1 to 3	2	.5	4	.6
4 or more	2	.5		
Median school years completed	9.6			

[1] Includes preschool age.

INDIAN COMMUNITIES OF EASTERN OKLAHOMA AND THE WAR ON POVERTY

(By Albert L. Wahrhaftig, Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago)

INTRODUCTION

I have prepared this paper in order to provide planners connected with the Office of Economic Opportunity and War on Poverty programs generally with adequate and useful background material on tribal American Indian communities, specifically those of Eastern Oklahoma.

Although this discussion is based on the Five Civilized Tribes of Eastern Oklahoma, it is relevant to a large Indian population outside Eastern Oklahoma. The country tribal community, as a characteristic type of settlement, is widespread in the United States. Robert K. Thomas, who has collected extensive data on American Indian populations for the University of Chicago, estimates that out of 410,000 Indians living in rural areas of the United States, some 150,000 live in communities generally similar to those described here. The information presented in this paper is applicable to most rural American Indian communities in the East, Southeast, most of Oklahoma, Michigan, California, Oregon, Nevada, and portions of the Southwest.

I am aware that the bulk of information which passes into the hands of government planning agencies consists of concise "factual", often statistical, reports in which social conditions are translated into quantitative analyses of education, occupation, finances, etc., or, if not of these, then of programs; outlines detailing things to be done and specifying who will do them to whom. In contrast, this paper offers a *holistic* view of a very common, though often unrecognized form of society. It analyzes behavior—the behavior of tribal Indians living in Indian communities within the general American society. The description of such behavior and such communities is in itself a "fact". Since the social sciences have not yet developed a vocabulary which renders facts of this order as manageable as are statistical tables, this knowledge can only be presented in discursive form.

I particularly recommend attention to this analysis because it constitutes the necessary background within which statistical reports from Oklahoma can be read and interpreted.

I have so far completed 16 months of anthropological research in Eastern Oklahoma. This research has included, in addition to general investigations, a four month survey of Cherokee populations in six Eastern Oklahoma counties, a socio-economic survey of four Cherokee settlements, and extensive periods of residence with conservative Cherokee families in two Cherokee settlements. These data constitute the basis for this report.

THE TRIBE IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA

The tribal nature of the Five Civilized Tribes involves a far reaching distinction which many people, both Eastern Oklahomans and outsiders, fail to take into account. Legally, and therefore in the consideration of the U.S. Government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Five Civilized Tribes consist of individual tribes, (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole), each represented by a tribal government of limited power. The legal membership of these tribes consists of individuals enumerated on tribal rolls and of their direct descendants. In the case of the Cherokee tribe, all individuals inscribed on the Cherokee tribal rolls, which were closed in 1907, and their direct descendants are members of the Cherokee tribe. There were, of course, numerous Indians who for various reasons were never enrolled. Regardless of ancestry, unenrolled Indians and their descendants are not legally members of the tribe. While all those enrolled in 1907 were Indian in legal terms, a considerable portion of those enrolled in 1907 and a far greater proportion of the legal members of the tribe today, were and are not participants in Indian *society.* The Cherokee rolls included thousands of people ⅛ or less Cherokee by blood. Blood quantum is not necessarily an indication of social participation. Nevertheless, by the time the Dawes Commission undertook the task of enrollment the Cherokee Nation had long been divided into opposed camps. The population of one portion of the Nation participated in the general American society of the time; the other section of the Cherokee Nation was the seat of Cherokee society. Members of the first portion of the tribe are now totally assimilated into the general U.S. population. Socially they are white Americans of Cherokee descent. Members of the second portion have maintained an Indian way of life in six northeastern counties of Oklahoma. Over the years there has been a continual loss of membership from this latter group into the general American society. This has taken place through intermarriage with whites, through migration, and through other processes which tend to sever the bonds of individuals from their birth-community. In addition, the ex-slaves of the Cherokees and their descendants, the Cherokee Freedmen, were incorporated into the tribal rolls and are also legally members of the tribe.

A Cherokee Chief, appointed by the Secretary of Interior, and an Executive Committee handle the affairs of the Cherokee Tribe. They are bound to represent the interests of the entire tribal membership. Theirs is a very difficult task. The membership of the Cherokee Tribe can be broken down into the following categories of people:

(1) Participants in the white general society, enumerated on the Cherokee rolls or descendants of enrollees, whose families have not lived as members of Indian society for several generations.

(2) Enrolled Cherokees and descendants of enrolled Cherokees who were reared as members of Indian society but who participate entirely or almost entirely as members of the white general society and whose connection to Indian society is tenuous or broken.

(3) Enrolled Cherokees and descendants of enrolled Cherokees who are members of a functioning Indian society.

(4) In the case of the Cherokee, Negroes who are Cherokee Freedmen and their descendants. Common to the Five Civilized Tribe are legal tribal memberships which combine members of an Indian society with members of the surrounding white society, and tribal governments which perforce must speak in the common name of a socially mixed membership.

In Eastern Oklahoma, persons involved with Indian affairs refer to members of Indian society as "fullbloods" and to members of the general society whose ancestors broke away from Indian society, sometimes generations ago, as "mixed bloods." The use of these terms, "fullblood Cherokee" and "mixed blood Cherokee," indicates the kind of conceptual difficulty Oklahomans get themselves into. They consistently see the Cherokee who is a participant in white society and the Cherokee who is a participant in Indian society as members of a common social body. They cannot perceive the existence of two separate social systems—Cherokee and white—occupying a mutual territory. This misperception is important, for it is the basis of a social myth in Oklahoma—*the myth of Indian assimilation.* The presence within the general society of people whom Oklahomans think of as Indians leads Oklahomans to imagine that Indians are becoming integrated into the general society, or even to act as if "progressive" Indians are "becoming more like whites" and as if the "hardheaded fullbloods" in the hills will very soon follow suit. In fact, Indian society and white society are separating, notwithstanding the leakage of individual Indians into the general society. This leakage, however, is more than offset by the high birth rate and low tendency to migrate of Indians. Again, these comments hold true for all the Five Tribes.

That Oklahomans find difficulty in perceiving the existence of Indian societies is not surprising, for few of the visual traits and symbols which Americans consider "Indian" can be seen in contemporary Indian society. First, Indians in Eastern Oklahoma have never been on reservations. They are neither geographically or administratively set off from the general population. Second, Indians in Oklahoma have taken over an enormous amount of white technology. Their clothing, their housing, and even their public occupations and activities are generally similar to those of surrounding folk whites. Insofar as Indians are generally poor and isolated, much of their manner of living looks like that of the surrounding population. Third, Oklahoma Indians do very few things today which are "aboriginal". There are no feathers and war bonnets in Eastern Oklahoma. Thus, whites do not spot "Indian" culture. They tend to think Indian cultures have *vanished,* whereas Indian culture has tended to *change* but to remain Indian, albeit different. Fourth, Indians in Eastern Oklahoma live in the more isolated and inaccessible parts of the country. Much of what they do customarily and routinely is rarely seen, and when Indians are seen they are usually seen out of context—in government offices, in town for shopping, and the like.

"Indian" society is what I call "tribal" society. Each of the legally constituted Tribes contains, along with the heterogeneous elements already described, a tribal society. The members of tribal society are like an enormous family. They are united by actual kinship, by co-residence and constant person-to-person interaction, by common understanding of their uniqueness as a single people, and by a firm desire to survive, unmolested insofar as possible, as a people. They have a mutual understanding as to what constitutes a proper state of affairs in the world. Particularly among the Cherokee, and to a varying extent among the other tribes, they are united by a common language.

The survival of tribal societies rests upon harmonious relations among people both for reasons which we would call "philosophic" or "religious" and for a practical reason: the actual existence of the tribe is invested in an arrangement of successful relationships among people which disputes can "undo" irrevocably. Tribal Indians recognize other individuals who have a similar investment in their common social life; as similar sorts of human beings, they can address one another from common ground. Really, the number of human beings among whom such discourse can take place constitutes the tribe. People whose lives are today rooted elsewhere, people who maintain themselves within the general American society and who conform in their behavior to the human arrangements of that general society, are simply another breed of cat. In these terms, the tribal Indian conceives of the "mixed bloods" and those "full bloods" who live in social isolation from other Indians as "white men", whatever their "blood".

Among the Five Civilized Tribes, tribal Indians tend to be country Indians, Indian speakers, and inhabitants of small "backwoods" Indian settlements, but these are not definitive characteristics. The tribalness of these people rests in the nature of their relationships to one another and in their conception of their self as a people, and not in the specifics of their circumstances.

TRIBAL POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

Although tribal Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes are dispersed throughout rural areas of Eastern Oklahoma, the form and structure of their settlement is strikingly traditional in pattern. In the "old country", the Southeastern tribes lived in towns or villages in which individual dwellings were clustered around central meeting places where ceremonial and political events were enacted. Such settlements were, for some purposes, social units. The population of these settlements consisted of one or more large groups of kinsmen. For some activities, mainly those having to do with major ceremonials, pressing political decisions, and the waging of war, settlements grouped together into larger social units.

At present, Indian settlements look like ordinary rural neighborhoods, but on closer examination, it is obvious that they are laid out in very much the same way as were the earlier Southeastern settlements. Through accommodation to the exigencies of the modern situation, they continue to function in the manner of traditional Southeastern settlements. Either country Christian Churches or "stomp grounds" (the ceremonial meeting places for non-Christian religious activities) are the center of a concentration of Indian households. In some places, notably among the Choctaws where four to six local Methodist churches are organized into "circuits" with rotating joint meetings, the larger social groupings are apparent. Elsewhere, as among the Cherokees where arrangements for burials and decisions affecting religious matters made by groups of elders in informal meetings are binding upon a number of church-settlements, the boundaries of larger social units are less obvious. Expanding white population has filled in the lands surrounding country Indian settlements, and no settlement is without at least a few interspersed white households. White society and Indian society are clearly co-territorial, and white and Indian social communities overlap spatially. This does *not* mean that whites and Indians are participants in common communities. By administrative fiat, both populations are involved in common administrative structures. Counties, precincts, school boards, and social workers' circuits, combine Indian and white populations, but these are administrative boundaries imposed from outside. In these intimate matters through which a human community defines itself (friendships and informal visiting, consoling the sick and helping the disaster-stricken, the informal maintenance of proper behavior, religious and ceremonial activities, pondering the future) Indian communities and white communities are totally separate. Their lot in being among the poor and isolated is common, but their existence as groups of intimately related human beings is not. Indian settlements consist of groups of kinsmen. Each settlement is in many ways like one large family. Members of an Indian settlement are no more concerned with the white population surrounding them, nor feel any greater sense of common cause, than do adjacent families in a vast metropolitan apartment house. On the other hand, Indian settlements are sizable, viable, cohesive, and surprisingly energetic human communities.

The number of Eastern Oklahoma Indians living in these cohesive, tribal communities is considerable. Settlement patterns and sizes for the Five Civilized Tribes are roughly as follows:

Cherokee.—50 communities of 30–60 households organized around churches or stomp grounds. Communities consist of one to three large kin groups which unite informally for "work parties" and mutual aid. Larger groupings of about 3 communities for some purposes. High proportion of people who prefer to speak Cherokee. Total population, 9,500.

Choctaw.—35 small settlements. Settlements a little larger and more isolated, but larger groupings of about 6 communities for some religious activities. Very few fluent English speakers. Total population, 7,500.

Creek.—45 small settlements, smaller in size: 20–40 households. Communities overlap between church and stomp ground. Considerable contact with whites and many more whites in area, consequently more English speaking. Total population, 7,000–8,000.

Chickasaw.—15 small settlements. Same language and general characteristics as Choctaw but much less isolated and more English speakers. Total population 3,000.

Seminole.—8–10 small settlements. Same language and culture as Creek, but settlements larger than Creek. Considerable overlap between church and stomp ground. Total population, 2,500.

Five Civilized Tribes.—Total of about 150 communities. Total population in tribal communities about 30,000.

About 30,000 Indians maintain a tribal way of life in country settlements in Eastern Oklahoma. The population of tribal Indians functioning within tribal society is higher. Among Cherokees, for example, it is evident that (1) substantial numbers of Indians have moved out of country Indian settlements but have "colonized," establishing new settlements and new Cherokee churches in urban settings such as Collinsville and Tulsa and (2) many country settlements, though depopulated, continue to function as social units; former residents "come home" for weekends, attend church, participate in social activities and "stay over" with remaining families. Indians in these categories increase the number of "tribal" Cherokees from 9,500 to at least 11,000. Other tribes also include quantities of tribal Indians who reside outside of county communities.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION AND LEADERSHIP

The most meaningful elements of life—home, family, kinfolk, sustenance from a country which is intimately known and people of whom one is a part—are concentrated within the local settlement. The majority of encounters between human beings take place within the social and geographic boundaries of the settlement, and until recently Indians either extracted their living from the resources within the settlement or made excursions "away" to "earn" (by working seasonally as harvest hands, on the railroad, etc.) and "home" to "live".

Tribes are integrated by the continual informal contact of individuals with individuals, for the most part of kinsmen with kinsmen. Residential mobility is fairly high and there have been, among Cherokees at least, some movements of large groups of people from one part of the country to another. Cherokee men are wanderers in their youth and often stay with geographically distant relatives for extensive periods of their youth. Marriage commonly takes place not within settlements, but between members of neighboring settlements. As a result, Indians have relatives and intimately known childhood friends over long distances. The same ease and confidence of interacting with close relatives within the home settlement can be carried to an array of people covering a great area and located in a number of settlements. Frequent visiting, as well as casual encounters in town, keep people in touch. The tribe tends to be knit together by effective personal contact. This, of course, is only to say that the tribe is indeed a people. The implication of this, however, is that although these tribes are lacking in "organizations" and "leaders" which can be manipulated, they are not inert within the American social mainstream. Information flashes through them. They are, as a social body, responsive to social pressures and, to the extent that they are informed, to social movements.

In spite of the concentrated investment that Indians have in the settlement, settlements and their inhabitants are linked in various ways so that the entire tribe is subtly integrated to such an extent that it exists as a single body of people. When these tribes existed as independent nations, much of the tribal organization was institutionalized. The business of maintaining constitutional government, education, law and order, and so forth, was accomplished in a nexus which extended geographically and socially throughout the tribe. When these functions were "taken over" by the State of Oklahoma (and therefore whites) in 1907, tribal Indians withdrew their participation. Overt organization and institutions covering whole tribes are now found only in those areas into which white control has not spread. Such organization is now almost wholly confined to religious activities and to certain societies which have evolved out of the equivalent of "resistance movements" which came into being as a response to the first strong pressures from whites and white-oriented Indians in the 1890's. Such organizations and their leadership have learned to survive by avoiding entanglement with whites. None, I suppose, are unscarred by disaster resulting from the backfiring of schemes for Indian betterment supported by whites. These tribes, then, have no real organizational involvement with the white world, nor are there leaders in solid connection with white society through which the tribe can be influenced. The tribal executive committees constitute a special case. They do well in handling the affairs of the tribe as *legally* constituted, but the vast majority of tribal Indians do not think of the executive committees as having anything to do with tribal life. They consider the committee to be a group of well-meaning strangers trying to help the Indians in some manner or another.

Organizations which direct themselves to some common concern of the people as a whole tend to thrive. Among the Cherokees one organization dedicated to gaining what is conceived of as "justice for the Cherokee people" in regard to revision of the tribal rolls is gaining in strength, and two societies which aim to consolidate land for their membership, build communal schools, and so forth, could easily spring into activity if they had the wherewithal, but when such organizations run afoul of white bureaucracy and regulations, or are seen as falling into the hands of whites, the membership quietly deserts.

INDIAN SETTLEMENTS AND THE GENERAL SOCIETY

The local settlement and the extended family are the focal points of Indian life. The social concern of Indians lies in maintaining in harmony and prosperity the body of people with whom they are intimately involved. To achieve these social ends, Indians "forage" in the general society, exploiting those elements of it which serve their own purposes, just as they combed the natural environment as Southeastern tribesmen. Indians utilize white society, but do not become involved in it.

Because Oklahoma Indians have taken over the material aspects of the white way of life, their Indianness is not readily visible. It takes an exercise of the imagination to see what is "Indian" in Oklahoma tribal communities. Consider Indian settlements before white men came into their territory. These settlements consisted of a small number of large families, between a hundred and three hundred people in all, each of them a close relative to every other, sharing the duties of maintaining a way of life. Any family anywhere has one central concern. That concern is sustaining adults so that they can produce their young, train them, and enable them to stand on their own two feet in the world of men. Among modern Americans, this task is accomplished separately and independently by single households composed of fathers, mothers, and children, in circumstances such that each household sets out on its own and each household is in competition with every other household in search of such rewards as society offers. Among tribal Indians, the sustenance of adults and the rearing, training, and enjoyment of the young are the mutual responsibility of the total social group. Every person is involved in maintaining the prosperity of all the people in his social world. All people share the job of existing in a physical and social world. The surrounding physical world provides the wherewithal for this way of life. It can be combed over, learned about, and nurtured to produce the elements for food, shelter, medicine, defense, recreation and whatever else man needs. Life depends on profound knowledge of the world, on exploration of each new way that men can find to sustain themselves within the world. *The basis of tribal life, for this reason, has never settled into a single technology such as intensive farming or commercial fishing. It depends, rather, on a closer and constantly adaptive relation to the surrounding environment.* Southeastern tribesmen lived aboriginally and continue to live now by hunting, fishing, gardening, gathering, domesticating animals, and by continuing to respond to new economic conditions. The purpose of this continual economic and technological adaptation has continued to be the prosperity of the whole body of people. Since Indians live as members of large groups of people involved in a mutual enterprise, successful maintenance of life is also dependent on profound knowledge of the people with whom one co-exists. Discord among people means economic and social disaster. An Indian community depends on the experiences of all of its members, experience of the resources of nature and of the ways of men, for its survival. To be cut off from fellow men of experience amounts to failure.

These propositions hold true about Indian communities:

1. An Indian community consists of a large group of relatives.
2. Life is systematically geared to the survival of this group of relatives.
3. To the extent that other people are incorporated into this system as people like relatives, they are important; to the extent that they are "outsiders" unlike relatives, they are socially unimportant. They are more like beings in the physical world, or even the supernatural world, that must be understood and dealt with.
4. Success in survival is based on experience and wisdom.
5. Indians grant respect to those who have knowledge, not just knowledge of specifics such as Indian medicine, but synoptic knowledge in the form of insight into the nature of the world and of human beings. The most slighting comment that a Cherokee can make about another man is that "he doesn't know anything". Older people are presumed to have knowledge. Younger people defer to them. The structure of families and of community institutions keep old and young continually together. Given this continual contact and involvement in a common social unit, people, and younger people particularly, avoid offending other, particularly older people. *The absolute necessity of getting along with other people in the here and now is what keeps the behavior of individuals within the "social" and away from the "anti-social".*[1] This is the most important fact about the Indian communities.

---

[1] White Americans do many things quite autonomously. They sometimes make major decisions without consulting other people. They use "facts" and "education" as a basis for planning action. They can project themselves into the future and consider that although the course of action upon which they have embarked will make them unpopular in the present, the outcome of such action in the future will be rewarding enough to overcome present discomfort. White Americans can know what they themselves are by relating themselves to abstract forms of knowledge, to themselves-in-a-future-condition, and to courses of action. They are highly individuated persons. Tribal peoples, living in a personal world of continuous interaction with kinsmen do not know of themselves, or take action, in this manner. Action is itself a response to relationships with other people. It is in relation to particular fellow human beings that a tribal individual comprehends himself. Every person in a personal world in relation to oneself is an aspect of oneself. To maintain such relationships is to maintain one's self.

Conceived of in these terms, as a system of human beings adapted to mutual survival, Indian communities today are just as they were before they were affected by whites. They have continually made substantial adaptations to having to deal with a white population, but they have not changed the social basis for their way of life.

Today, to take Cherokee settlements as an example, there is an increasing amount of employment of men and of women outside of Indian settlements. In Adair county, for example, women work in the Stilwell canning factory and in fruit orchards. The employment of men is varied. Some work on the "high line", some work in orchards, a few are agricultural laborers, some work in chicken processing factories in Arkansas—and a great many are out of work. Even when men are forced to live elsewhere throughout the working week and can come home only on weekends, they have practically no meaningful social contacts with whites on the job. For workers, the surrounding white society is merely an environment. To live in Ft. Smith, Arkansas during the week, working, and to return to home and family is a little like going to the plains to hunt buffalo for a week. Buffalo are in themselves interesting, but they do not cause men to change their thoughts about the nature of life, nor, for that matter, do they cause men to become more like buffalo. Cherokee life has expanded territorially, and overlaps white life to a greater degree than formerly. Cherokees remain in school a little longer, they go to movies and congregate in "white" towns, they do their laundry in laundromats rather than at home, they use white lawyers and doctors, and "participate" on the white scene in an infinity of ways, but they do so impersonally. The network of relationships of Cherokees to Cherokees persists in a white context. The contacts of Cherokees with white life increases, but the relationship is on the order of that between a farmer and a Sears Roebuck catalogue. Cherokees obtain many of the items in the catalogue and desire still more of them, but for the most part they are involved only as discretionary consumers in the vast system which produces these items, makes them fashionable, gives them value and meaning, and eventually distributes them. Cherokee households have taken over T.V. sets, the Beatles, refrigerators, automobiles and, in general, the American desire for comfort and variety in life. They have not taken over the notion that the "nuclear" family of parents and children is *the* important social unit, nor an ethic based on successfully gaining for the family more status, and more rank, through education, mobility, and creating social relationships with newly-known and more "successful" human beings. Within a Cherokee settlement there is a very adequate knowledge of many of the things which American society ***contains***, but virtually no substantive knowledge of how American society ***operates***.

Settlements act upon social matters. The process of action is roughly this: Individuals become aware of a situation or circumstance. Someone, usually an older man in conversation with a few other older men, expounds the situation and, possibly, proposes action. *Full knowledge of the situation is gained*, usually by informal visits and conversations with older men elsewhere. Conversations and deliberation continue and expand until the whole settlement is "in on it". Eventually, older men will make a proposition, so structured as to imply that the whole settlement ought to participate in the "working". If proposed action has "hit the spot" everyone will join in and something will get done. If not, people simply stay away and the matter dies. Thus, important things do get done in settlements, although the process of quiet deliberation may extend over a period of years. As a case in point, the population of a certain area in Adair county concentrated and grew to such a point, that a new "community" was beginning to evolve from the intermarriage of populations on the edges of one settlement on the east and another on the west. Since members of two church-communities were intermarrying, the households settled there gradually became aware of tension arising from the problem of which family-church to participate in. Gradually it became evident that the evolving social group was big enough and related enough to found a local church. Four men chatting as a crossroads proposed the idea. Next week, having talked to others, they by chance met again and proposed that as a committee they acquire land for a church. This was done. Having acquired the land, they simply called the community to a working. Everyone did, as it happened, show up; and the first rude church was finished in a week.[2]

---

[2] This illustrates the point made in footnote 1. The action (founding a church) was a response to evolving social relationships, or, to put the point succinctly, action is simply an aspect of social relations. The abstraction of "action" from social context does not hold true for tribal society.

As viable communities of people living in the general American environment, Indian settlements are not inert. They are responsive to new pressures and conditions from outside, as well as to innovations within the community.

These are the features of Cherokee action:

1. Action is profoundly deliberated.
2. Action is deliberated and controlled by men who "know enough".
3. Full knowledge of the situation is gained before proposals are initiated.
4. Knowledge is gained person to person.
5. There are no "leaders". Groups and committees evolve around the necessity for getting specific things done.
6. The process of fact-finding, testing community opinion, etc. is conducted in Cherokee.
7. Action is successful when people signify agreement by participating.
8. *Disagreement is indicated by non-participation.* Withdrawal is a strong sign of disapproval.
9. When disagreement is indicated by non-participation, the matter is dropped.
10. The process can be re-initiated at a later time if changed circumstances warrant it, *but,*
11. When people express disapproval by not participating, proposals are not pressed. Pressure forces people into having to choose between doing what they think right and staying "out" or violating their own will to avoid offending people who support action.

Cherokees will not put other Cherokees in this position.

The pattern by which action is taken in a Cherokee settlement defines the manner in which Cherokees will relate to programs initiated within the general white community. They will respond as a total community. They will respond as individuals, providing individual response will not unfavorably affect interpersonal relations in the community. They will withdraw as individuals from programs in which their response as individuals will affect interpersonal relations within the community. They will withdraw as a community from programs in which the community as a whole is not in agreement unless they are unalterably bound to such a program. If they are bound (for example, Cherokees must send children to school whether they wish to or not) they simply say yes and drag their feet in an effort to keep pressure and relationships in which someone must be offended away from the settlement.[3]

There is a common assumption in the approach of Oklahoma whites to the betterment of Indian communities. This is to insist that older people are unchangeably traditional and that it is the younger generation that can be reached and "made to progress." Pragmatically, there is some truth in this. In *any* given generation, young people don't yet "know enough" to be deeply involved in those social relationships which most importantly constitute a Cherokee community. This comes with age, and the youth are always "free floating" and somewhat approachable. To the extent that the young are involved in activities designed to "better them" which at the same time undermine the authority of older people, they take over new standards, but are simultaneously pulled out of the social context which controls their behavior. For this reason the training which young people receive also can produce wildly uncontrolled individual behavior. At present, drinking, criminality, and delinquency are slight in country Cherokee communities. The young do tend to be "wild" to the extent that they "sow their wild oats" as people in Western frontier communities have long tended to do, but after marriage and integration into the fabric of settlement life, young families settle into an almost Puritan existence. In contrast, "town Indians" in Tahlequah, where white peer groups are stronger and the young are more strongly drawn out of community life, are beginning to show contrasting modes of change. On the one hand, there are Indians who cut themselves off from the Indian community, and become energetic social climbers in small town white life. On the other hand, there are Indians who reject the controls other Indians try to impose on them and reject, too, the possibilities of success in the white community. They have, to oversimplify, read the message "Indians must do better" to mean that "Indians are pretty bad" and that they themselves are "dumb Indians". In these terms, neither community, Indians or whites, is satisfactory to them, and they are beginning to look very much like "hoods". The growing numbers of this type of Indian small as yet, is giving Eastern Oklahomans the idea that they have an "Indian problem".[4] To the extent that Indians accept the notion that they are a "problem", the situation becomes aggravated. For these reasons, Cherokee communities will function successfully and change successfully only as a whole.

---

[3] In line with the subargument developed in footnotes 1 and 2, Cherokees do not perceive a "program" or "proposal" *per se*. A program is perceived as an aspect of personal relationships, and is meaningful only in terms of those relationships. For example, when in April 1965 representatives of the OEO addressed a body of Cherokees on the possibility of granting loans for the development of local (Indian) industries, the response of some few Cherokees was this: "The U.S. government owes much money to the Cherokees as a result of past injustices. They are going to 'pay off' by giving industries instead of per capita payments. The Indian industries will surely fail, and whites will take them over. The businesses are a plot whereby whites can get their money back from Cherokees." *The proposal was perceived as an aspect of the relationship between whites and Cherokees.*

It is for this reason that the Cherokee language is important. It is the only language by which the Indian community as a whole can communicate. The great majority of country Cherokee families speak Cherokee at home. Cherokees are becoming increasingly familiar with English. People under thirty speak English well. In response to pressure from the white community, Cherokees speak English more in public and, spottily, there are now numbers of children who understand Cherokee but refrain from speaking it, thereby giving whites no excuse to treat them like "backward Indians."[5] Since Cherokees are observed to speak English in public, and since Cherokee home life is in effect hidden from whites, Oklahomans are convinced that the Cherokee language is dying out. Actually, the older generation (which is the meaningful generation) rarely converse in English. The English of older Cherokees is very limited, and even middle aged Cherokees are seldom fully fluent in English. Family interaction and community events are in Cherokee, and, as individuals mature and participate more deeply in community life, they move increasingly from an English-speaking to a Cherokee-speaking context.

These comments have been restricted to Cherokee settlements. The deliberativeness of Cherokees is more extreme, perhaps, than in other tribes, and the universality of the Indian language in home life and the discussion of important matters is more extreme among Cherokees and Choctaws; in other respects, all the Five Civilized Tribes settlements operate in a generally similar manner.

THE NATURE OF INDIAN POVERTY

By any criteria, Indians are poor just as Eastern Oklahomans, on the whole, are poor. The poverty of Indians, however, stems from two factors: it is on the one hand a result of living in a generally impoverished area and of sharing the lot of the total population of that area, and it is on the other hand a result of the particular relationship of Indian society to white society, both within and without the area. It follows that since there are particular as well as general causes of Indian poverty, steps taken to alleviate the poverty of the region as a whole may not be sufficient to alleviate the poverty of Indians as a particular society existing within Eastern Oklahoma.

There can be no doubt that the Eastern Oklahoma region stands as a prime candidate for the war on poverty. Income is extremely low (Adair County, which has the largest Indian population of any Oklahoma county, has for the last twenty years had the lowest per capita income in the state), level of educational attainment is substantially below average, unemployment is high, and welfare loads are very high. These conditions are clear indicators of poverty.

Eastern Oklahoma shares with other impoverished rural regions of the United States a profound disarticulation from the general American society. The region as a whole maintained itself, in great insularity, by small-scale subsistence farming until the 1940's. Until twenty years ago, Eastern Oklahoma was a stable, countrified, folk-like society.

The story of social change in Eastern Oklahoma is a familiar one—decline in subsistence farming, inadequate resources for profitable large farms and ranches to develop, high rate of migration, lack of industrial development, loss of educated and talented men through lack of opportunities at home, and a shift of social and political power from country to town. What distinguishes this region and a few others from rural America as a whole is that this process of change has been recent, sudden, and is still incomplete. Eastern Oklahoma is in the process of arriving on the American scene in the wrong place at the wrong time. It is an area where the battle for power between cowboys and hillbillies—real country people—and suddenly urbanized townsmen wages heatedly. The suddenness with which the American country-to-town transformation has hit the Oklahoma Ozarks has produced an atmosphere of disorganization, bewilderment, and panic. Oklahomans are now only in their first generation of operating a cash economy, and they have made their debut at the precise point at which the requirements (in terms of considerable education, knowledge of urban ways, and acceptance of outside control) for becoming an effective "operator" have suddenly become most stringent. The more urban townsmen are rapidly trying to cash in on the benefits of modern American society, but the majority of country people simply find themselves without possibilities of employment and with bureaucrats looking over their shoulder. From their point of view, someone has suddenly pulled the plug on their self-sufficient way of life.

---

[4] In the four months between the preparation of the first draft of this paper and this revision the tension between town Indians and white college students in Tahlequah has accelerated more rapidly than I would have predicted. Tahlequah, the home of Northeastern State College, has its share of "town and gown" problems. But this tension is very likely to become racial. Students have told me that they are nervous about going to town the first Saturday night of the month when the "Indians are drinking up their check." Recently a student told me how students on campus laid for the "Indian Kids" who were stealing hub caps on campus.

[5] I have often seen Cherokees who speak Cherokee at home and speak English only with difficulty conversing among *themselves* in English in public. This is a reflection of the tense relationship between Cherokees and whites. One might suppose that under pressure Cherokees would maintain the privacy of their affairs by speaking Cherokee (which few whites understand) in public. The opposite is true. The relationship between Cherokees and whites is the object of mutual anxiety. Cherokees fear that when they converse in Cherokee "white people think we're talking about them behind their backs." To talk about someone behind his back is, in Cherokee terms, a dangerously hostile act.

It is urgently important to realize that the introduction of federal programs into this area touches an extremely sensitive nerve. Those acquainted with life on the American frontier will recognize that the traditional conflict between "home folk" and "Yankee bigshots" is here being played in modern dress. Federal programs are ammunition in local political battles. The issue is not whether to incorporate such programs; rather, the acceptance of federal programs is bait in the battle between factions who want to see towns "progress" and factions who desperately want to keep things as they are in the face of emotionally shaking social change. The coverage, and particularly the letters to the editors, in Tahlequah newspapers for November through January 1965, when the continuance of urban renewal was debated and eventually kept out by a landslide vote document the emotionality and panic which this issue generates.

The political role of Indians in these issues has been, until very recently, nil. Tribal Indians reacted to the dissolution of tribal governments and statehood by total avoidance of politics in the general society. Dissolution of tribal government destroyed the institutional framework whereby Indians could have dickered for the political well-being of the tribe within white society. When it is recalled that Indian communities contain as influential elder members men who as young and aware adults witnessed the dissolution of their governments, it is obvious that tribal communities will continue to distrust promises of success in further negotiation. At the same time, local political leaders have recently become aware of the Indian population as a potent political force. White politicians are now beginning to approach Cherokees as *Cherokees* utilizing interpreters and radio broadcasts in the Cherokee language, and Indians are coming to realize that their vote, at least on local issues, can get them something.

The resulting recent increase in voting among Cherokees is not accompanied by a corresponding renewal of Indian political organization. Recent Indian history is burdened with examples of Indian political organizations which have, wittingly or unwittingly, sold out to whites. Since these organizations have necessarily functioned without a framework which could relate the tribe as a whole to the general society, it could hardly have been otherwise. Indians are wary to an extreme of such organizations. Voting represents unorganized and spontaneous participation in local issues. While whites tend to conceive of Indian society as being rigidly regimented by tradition, Indian society actually consists of the desires and actions of individual members so arranged that conflicts between individuals are consistently avoided. Almost anything an Indian does that does not directly and immediately affect other members of the community, or, that does not take place in an institutional context, is conceived of as "his own business". Much political participation, including voting, falls into this category. *Individual involvement in politics does not imply awareness of consequences for Indians as a political community.* In this way, individual Indian involvement and individual white involvement are very different in their consequences. This is of obvious importance in terms of involvement in O.E.O. programs; it is also a point of danger in the relationship of Indian and white society.

In terms of social change in Eastern Oklahoma as a whole, Indian populations are being sucked in as third parties in local struggles for power. If Indians were aware that this is the case and had some sort of viable political organization, they could manipulate the situation to their advantage, but the conception of voting is so structured that it does not involve this kind of awareness.[6] Cherokees are likely to participate heavily, as individuals, in O.E.O. projects to the extent that they see individual advantages in them. At the same time, these projects are destined to become fuel in local political disputes. There is considerable danger that Cherokees will find themselves in the middle of a "squeeze play" in the general society. If this comes to pass, individual participation will be transformed into an issue affecting tribal survival, and withdrawal is certain.

Since Indian communities live in a sensitive adjustment to their environments, they have responded to these general social changes. There has been a lag in this response for a number of reasons, principal among which is the greater isolation of Indian populations, and thus there is a greater diversity in the economic adjustments manifested in Indian communities. The range now runs from, at one extreme, isolated communities with a subsistence economy very much like that of all rural communities in the 1920's where cash *family* incomes are as little as $300 per year, to at the other extreme "colonies" of urban industrial workers who have regrouped into the social equivalent of country Indian settlements transplanted into an urban environment. Indian communities are exploiting a changing economic environment, but Indians are not internalizing the general social system in which they participate as employees. Therefore, new sources of income are channeled into conservatively organized communities. This has resulted in a paradoxical situation. By leaving a subsistence economy and entering a cash economy, Indians have found more security and prosperity than was generally available before. It probably now takes less man-hours of work to support a family than it did thirty years ago. Drought, or a bad harvest, or an unexpected scarcity of game does not mean starvation. Thirty years ago, some people couldn't keep their bellies full, some people didn't have enough clothes to keep warm, some people had absolutely no resources in case of sickness or accident. Now nearly everybody has at least this minimum. Just as Indians have adapted to wage labor, they have adapted to security program, ADC and Welfare, by recognizing these as new, utilizable factors in the environment. But Indians have entered the cash economy as "hicks" enter the city. They are now on the country edge of the system, functioning as unskilled and uneducated labor. They hold down the jobs most likely to be wiped out by automation and derive large portions of their income from those sources which cause whites to consider them a problem. In this adaptation, then, Indians have achieved greater economic security while at the same time achieving a more conspicuous rank among the impoverished.

Indians, particularly, have come on the scene at the wrong time and in the wrong place. They are gaining competence in, and income from, a type of society which is in the process of vanishing. In the Indians' situation in this society (especially in view of the isolation, physically, linguistically, and conceptually, from abstract issues which intervene only via newspapers, T.V., and other media of national, ideological discourse) pressure in the form of intervention into individual and household affairs is very mild indeed. It is far less than the amount of control and manipulation by law and institutions that urban Americans accept casually. Yet the relatively greater economic security in modern Indian settlements is more than offset by aggravation at the amount of control and intervention that Indians are stuck with. Today, Indians see their situation in terms of two major problems: (1) where to get a job within commuting distance of home (2) how to deal with "white men running things all the time". Indians complain about having to comply with white men's hunting licenses, driver's licenses, hog-fencing laws, social workers' nosiness, and the like. They are sensitive to what appear to them to be high handed outside controls.

These two modes of Indian adjustment will loom large in the behavior of Indians involved in "war on poverty" programs: (1) Indians exploit new resources within reach of the community (2) Indians resent and withdraw from outside coercion and intervention.

It is obvious that programs which aid country Oklahomans *as country Oklahomans* will draw in and help the Indian population. If new jobs and industries are created locally, Indians will take them. If cash is channeled into the area as a whole, certain portions of it will flow to the Indian population.

---

[6] As a matter of detail, the Cherokees are divided into two blocs. The majority of Cherokees are undeviatingly Republican. They associate Democrats with the Jacksonian Democrats who forced the Indian removals and with the Confederates who despoiled the territories of pro-Union ancestors of contemporary tribal Cherokees. Republicanism is, for a great portion of the population including many young people, built into being a Cherokee. The other bloc is responsive to local patterns of patronage, and is swayed by promises of patronage jobs on road crews, leniency in the enforcement of welfare regulations, etc.

It is also obvious that the war on poverty is not going to stop with shoring up underdeveloped areas through programs which saturate them with cash and provisional jobs for unskilled labor. The whole program operates on the assumption that able-bodied people will be able to share in the great wealth of this country to the extent that they can be helped to hold down successfully those jobs which will be available in the American society in the very near future. It assumes that the factors which inhibit people from flowing into potentially favorable jobs are (1) lack of education and training and (2) lack of resources, both financial and social, through which workers can transport themselves, not only geographically but also vertically through social classes and statuses, to rewarding positions and (3) the presence of "barriers", particularly racial discrimination. While the program asks "who are the impoverished" and asks "what can be done to help them", it does not ask "what is the desired outcome to be". It presumes that the inevitable outcome will be an influx of qualified competent *individuals* into a single functioning society.

The white population of Oklahoma can be induced to enter the general society on these terms. The enormous migration out of Eastern Oklahoma since 1940 is good evidence that whites will gravitate toward jobs, whether or not their education or training is adequate. There seem to be few whites so attached to this area that they will suffer economic disadvantage by remaining in it. Poverty programs based on "sophisticating" individuals through more intensive training or retraining are likely to fit into an existing trend.

The opposite is true of Indian communities. Statistically, the rate of migration out of Indian communities is very low. Under economic conditions equal to those of impoverished whites, the total population in country Cherokee communities has increased slightly while the population in adjacent areas populated by whites has declined 15 to 50% in the last twenty years. My survey materials on Cherokees indicate that well-educated Cherokees migrate away from these communities. While this indicates that education is a way of getting away from local poverty, it also indicates that Indians are coming to realize that educating their young is a way of losing their young. In addition, while launching educated people into the general society may insure their personal success, it also involves impoverishing the community of their origin. Indian communities persist as thriving human communities, but they do so in the face of a continual drain of their best talent. This is a grave problem.

This is where the "myth of Indian assimilation" is truly relevant. Because Oklahomans refuse to admit the possibility of thriving and successful, but separate and definitively Indian communities, efforts to help Indians are aimed at plucking individuals out of the environment of "superstitiousness and lack of motivation" which "hold them back". Institutions for education, employment, and social welfare can only conceive of their beneficiality in terms of either serving the Indian individual from the Indian community or of "up-grading" the social life of Indian communities to conform with white norms, not of decency and seemly social conduct, but of advancement through status-ranks in white society. There are, in the way Oklahomans view social problems, no recognized alternatives to this course of action.

This is not an immutable opinion, and in a society changing as rapidly as this, no definition of a situation need long hold true. Oklahomans have yet to see an alternative approach to the development of Indian communities demonstrated, either by prestigeful and powerful outsiders or by a successful course of action in an Indian community. Oklahomans, being frontier pragmatists, would be amenable to such a demonstration.

The effect of these benevolent actions on Indian communities, as Indians see it, is loss of vital membership (which really means having loved relatives in unreachable places), and unwarranted tampering with the basic and private relationships between old and young, grandparents and grandchildren, uncle and nephews, which are *are* satisfying thing in life. The intention and the effect of whites with whom Indians come in contract, is the permanent estrangement of some of the members of the group of people who are most important to an Indian individual. This amounts to social death.

Because of these relationships, co-participation with whites is dangerous. Because of uniqueness as a people, and because of the dangers inherent in interaction, Indian society has withdrawn into separateness from white society. Social survival has become involved with maintaining social distance from whites.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE O.E.O.

The strongest recommendation I can make to O.E.O. planners is that they continually place before themselves the social realities of Indian communities. To consider Indians as a statistically important population among the ranks of the impoverished and assume that their reaction to the creation of new opportunities will be the same as that of other impoverished populations is to create the very conditions under which Indians will once again retreat into the hills. Oklahomans are certain to submit programs for approval and financing by the O.E.O. It should be possible, using the background which this paper provides to determine whether or not it is realistic to expect tribal Indians to participate in these programs and benefit from them. It should be clear, for instance, that Indians are likely to participate as individuals in many programs. Indians flowed into CCC camps in the 1930's and benefited from their experiences. Similarly, the participation of Indians in Job Corps camps, especially if they are near home, ought to be substantial. It should be equally obvious that Indians, as a tribal community, are not likely to co-plan with whites, as a community, nor is there a present possibility of finding tribal institutional structures by which the "War on Poverty" can be related to tribal activities. The separation of tribal communities from white society, based on an accumulation of disastrous experiences at the hands of whites, creates a condition such that tribal Indians are not going to request federal programs until their benefits are demonstrated. Indians are going to want to use these programs to strengthen their communities and insure the stability of their population and society. Correlatively, they are going to resist, usually by withdrawal, and threat to their communities and anything that is interpreted as coercion. The predictable interest of Indians will be in strengthening their own communities, and the predictable conception by whites of programs beneficial to Indians will focus on the destruction of the "retarding influences of tradition" and the rapid assimilation of individual Indians into the general society. The conception whites have of what is good for Indians is part of the "Indian problem." Thus, the programs most tailored to Indians' demands are those most likely to threaten the conception which neighboring whites hold of a proper society, unless told otherwise. Tribal Indians are not going to move until they have been approached *as Indians* and offered a clearly defined place *as Indians* in the Great Society. Since socially there are no local communities which embrace both Indians and whites, Indians are not going to join in planning mutual local programs with whites. Such communities are a fiction, and proposals supposing their existence will be incomprehensible to Indians.

If the reality of Indian communities is accepted, then I am convinced that the O.E.O. is going to have to decide its policy on some vital questions.

1. *Who is going to speak for tribal Indians?* By the time tribal Indians become aware of the War on Poverty and speak for themselves, many people will have already spoken *for* them, on their behalf. In the Cherokee area, Community Action Boards and Community Action Advisory Boards have already been named to plan for a six-county area. The eighteen members of these boards do not include any members of Cherokee Indian country communities, although Cherokees constitute 7% to 25% of the population of these counties. In planning for a six-county area, this board will be planning for the entire population of Oklahoma Cherokees. If planning is channeled through existing political structures, then planning will be in the hands of institutions which Indians deliberately avoid. Tribal executive committees are going to plan for their respective tribes. As the due representatives of bodies of people legally recognized as Indians they will rightfully do so. But they are bound to speak for this entire body of people, the majority of whom tribal Indians regard as "whites." The O.E.O. now has an opportunity to fashion requirements which will influence the development of institutions which can give members of tribal communities an opportunity to participate in, and gain experience of, the general society, but the structure of Oklahoma society is such that these institutions will not come into being without encouragement.

2. *What will constitute a community?* Legislation defining the War on Poverty intentionally leaves the definition of "community" flexible. A "community" can be a county, a group of counties, a small town, or a rural neighborhood. This legislation, taken in the context set by recent legislation on civil rights, is interpreted to prohibit aid specifically to Indian communities or specifically to white communities. Such aid is taken to be segregationary. This reduces the definition of "community" to "the population of a designated area." In Oklahoma,

the Indian and white population of any given area is *not* a community. If both populations embarked jointly on a poverty program, they might, in the working out of it, integrate themselves into a functioning community. In all likelihood, however, the attempt to do this very thing is likely to result in further withdrawal of Indian participation. Programs which are seemingly *integrative* in intent are almost certain to be *segregationary* in effect. Indian and white communities are existing social units. Their common success in programs undertaken separately as localized communities can lead to essentially integrative knowledge of how to exist in the modern world; the results of being sucked into joint enterprise is likely to lead to further differentiation of experience.

3. *What is most likely to help Indians as a total community?* If separate help to local Indian communities turns out to be constitutionally barred, is it possible to relieve the problems of Indians as large tribal populations? There is room for active exploration of this possibility. Programs that broaden tribal Indians' definition of their place in the general society can alleviate Indian impoverishment without involving aid to specific Indian communities. Eastern Oklahoma Indians consider schools to be "white" institutions and consistently draw distinctions between "white man's" knowledge and Indian knowledge. Programs of school enrichment which involve teaching in Indian languages in primary grades where the proportion of students speaking Indian language is high, imparting the conception of literacy by teaching reading and writing in Indian languages and then proceeding with already literate pupils to literacy in English, and the support of bilingual teachers who are encouraged to speak to adults in their own language, would cause the whole Indian community to conceive of education as a thing more relevant to Indians. Business, too, is conceived of as the white man's realm, but the encouragement of co-operatives with racially open membership but based on Indian skills (such as the production of Indian arts and crafts) bring new experiences within the boundaries of Indian life without involving segregated aid.

The most basic generalization which can be made about tribal peoples is this: Only under truly exceptional circumstances do tribal people "assimilate" and disappear into another society, but unless specific circumstances prevent it, tribal people can assimilate almost anything into their own lives. The pressure on American Indians in Eastern Oklahoma to assimilate into American society has caused them to define the institutions whereby they are pressured (schools and education particularly) as "un-Indian". If such pressure can be relieved, and if Indians can see such experiences as being "Indian", they will incorporate them. If programs can be devised which cause advanced education and skilled occupations to be conceived as "Indian" things to do, not by modification of the way of life of individuals but by modification of these things and their relationship to Indian life, a successful outcome for the War on Poverty among Indians is predictable.

SUMMARY

1. In the U.S. about 150,000 Indian live in country Indian settlements much like those discussed in this paper. There are about 150 such communities with a population of 30,000 among the Five Civilized Tribes.

2. The legal tribe in Oklahoma contains both people who live as whites and people who live as Indians.

3. There is a myth of Indian assimilation in Oklahoma. The number of Indians living as Indians has grown in the last century, but Oklahomans persist in believing that Indian society is disappearing.

4. Eastern Oklahoma Indians are tribal people. The "Indian" part of their way of life is in their relationships with one another, not in the material aspects of their life.

5. Tribal settlements or "communities" in Eastern Oklahoma consist of groups of closely related tribesmen. There has been much change in these communities over time, but the human relationships which bind them are extremely conservative.

6. The tribe as a whole in Eastern Oklahoma is not bound together by a tribal council or executive committee. It is not principally bound together by organizations or institutions, although ceremonial institutions bring members together in a whole-tribe context. The tribe is united by an extension of the same personal relations which obtain in a community.

7. Indian society and white society are separate even though Indian and white population is intermixed within the same territory.

8. Indians, as a community of people, support themselves from whatever resources are found within their environment; that is, by continually adapting to their environments. Indians *adapt* to the increasing numbers of whites in their environment without becoming involved with them.

9. There are ways by which Indians take action together as a community to meet new conditions.

10. Indians must continually get along with one another in the here and now. It is this necessity for getting along with others that controls their behavior, not laws or ethics or morals. Indians must avoid offending one another.

11. Where the concentration of speakers of Indian language is great, as among Cherokees and Choctaws, communication in Indian languages is of great importance, even though Indians may be observed to speak English in public. As long as some members of the community speak inadequate English, information can spread through the whole community, and especially to influential older people, only in the Indian language.

12. The causes of poverty in Indian communities are twofold. Indians are impoverished because they live in impoverished areas and have adapted to an impoverished environment. Indians are impoverished because of the particular relationships of Indian society to the surrounding general society.

13. Indians have withdrawn from participation in white society for 60 years. This has created a *poverty of experience.* The better educated and more knowledgeable youth migrate. Communities do not retain those members who know how a community can "wheel and deal" as a community in the modern world. Knowledge of white society is based on personal contact with that segment of Oklahoma society which is most in trouble and rapidly vanishing.

14. To the extent that the surrounding environment is enriched (meaning the environment outside of Indian homes and settlements) Idian communities, in adapting to new possibilities in the environment, will be less impoverished.

15. To the extent that Indian communities, as communities, can become experienced at understanding and operating within the general society, they will put educated members to use in an Indian context and work out productive relationships to the general society and to new white technology. Outside intervention, pressure to cease being Indians, and tampering with the basic scheme of Indian social relations will result in withdrawal from white institutions which are the sources of such experience. The solution of Indian poverty rests in encouraging the competence of the community as a whole.

INDIANS, HILLBILLIES, AND THE "EDUCATION PROBLEM"[1]

(By Robert K. Thomas and Albert L. Wahrhaftig, Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education Project, Tahlequah, Okla., October, 1966)

Copyrighted material
deleted

---

[1] Prepared for publication in a forthcoming book by Stanley Diamond on "Anthropological Perspectives on Education" to be published by Basic Books.

Reproduced for private circulation only by Sol Tax.

Cherokee Families and the Schools

(By Robert V. Dumont, Jr., Indian education research project, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.)

This morning I would like to preface my comments by stating that I do not believe there is a viable or positive tradition of American Indian education. Without this there are no means by which we can evaluate a program or a course of study for the Indian child. In all that we have done to-date, there is only one thing that we can guarantee him, and that is failure.

We are in this dilemma because those of us involved in the formal schooling and training of American Indian people have not recognized the intellectual traditions of American Indian communities and their inherent definitions of teaching and learning. If these culturally different traditions and definitions had been brought into the school, then the content and course of education would not have the present condition of ineffectiveness and inadequacy. Today, in a few places, this kind of incorporation and change is going on, and hopefully, that is what we will be discussing in these meetings today. If this be the case, then the task we have set for ourselves is most difficult, for to work our way out of the historical and present condition where the intellectual traditions of the American Indian communities have been relegated a lower and sometimes inferior status, socially and intellectually, especially in the schools, will require that we do not begin with those givens we are so accustomed to using but that we proceed in a systematic manner by formulating our observations and understanding so that they lead us to ask the right kind of questions. In these sessions, as well as in the intercultural classroom, we must think and work in cross-cultural time and space, and here, wrong questions merely upset the already precarious balance between Indian and white.

Presented at the meetings on "Equality of Educational Opportunity for the Indian Pupil in Oklahoma" sponsored by the Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies and Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, December 14, 1967.

Wrong questions are easily come by. In my own work, being naive, young and somewhat idealistic, I have become quite adept in asking wrong questions. Assessing the quality of education in the schooling careers of Cherokee and Sioux children, I saw over and over again failure and drop-out, and always, the most pressing question was "who is to blame?" Inevitably I came up with the same conclusion each time I posed the question: "It is not the Indian parent or child who fails or drops out, but it is the school, classroom and teacher that have failed." That is well and good, but it gets one no where, for the answer is a dead-end. To go beyond, to move from the either or proposition, I had to ask a more appropriate question. To find that was a long, arduous task, which I did in the Cherokee study from the Cherokee people. They asked the right and most basic question—"Education for what?" It is the complexity of this question I wish to discuss today, relying a good deal on 158 family interviews with rural-tribal Cherokee families and on my own work in the schools.

The relationship between these Cherokee families and the schools is characterized by conflict and stress, at times traumatic; but rarely, if ever, does it come into the open or is the conflict ever resolved, for usually it is not mutually recognized nor defined within the same terms.

The necessity of having an education and the futility and uselessness of it are two underlying and contradictory currents of Cherokee thought about schools and education. In the majority of the families these opposing forces generate the question, "Education for what?" It is the right question and answers are not easily come by, as can be seen in the following comment of a parent about children quitting school:

"They just give up—lack of clothing, just hard to find better clothes for schooling. That's what happened to me. I guess we Cherokee are wishing too much when we are in school, but unable to get a thing we wanted, and the white people get what they want because they are rich people, and we Cherokee are not. Just wishing that's all."

Is education for wishing, wishing to be rich like the white people? If so, what then is rich?

Another parent prefaced a statement about why a person should get an education with stringent qualification:

"Well I think it just fade away, this Indians, before long. All the whitepeople live in Oklahoma is the way I see. Also I think they are trying to get rid of this Indian—to forget their own language. And so (education is so that) they could find an easy job and be easy to talk English where they could listen when they ask a job and the white people will understand what this Indian want—when they are educated enough."

Will education provide the means for the Indian to ask for what he wants or will he in the course of learning to do that "forget his own language" and "fade away." At the beginning of school, the student was an Indian but when he finishes he is no longer that, because he was educated—for what? There is forceful and biting paradox and a circle of questions within other circles of questions.

At times an answer is there, and it has the appearance of holding a precise logic with no alternatives and no change:

"INTERVIEWER. What is the main reason, in your opinion, why a person should get an education?

"PARENT. I guess they would be ready to go working at the Chicken plant and baby-sitting. That's all they do. I know a lot of educated people among the Cherokee who didn't get a job. They couldn't find one."

There is no hedging nor qualification; education is useless. More than any other statement this tells bodly of the overriding economic conditions in this part of the country, and like the other statements it also suggests conditions of subtle discrimination, value conflicts and cultural differences.

All of these are statement sof reality, of what exists, and for some it is an objective summation, for others pessimism and for yet others condemnation against what they do not have, should have but are not allowed to have. This is tempered by aspiration, economic and educational in nature, for nearly half (48%) of the 158 families wanted their children to have a college education and (34%) wanted their children to have a high school education.

For a population that is but marginally literate in English these figures for high school and college education are quite high. Few people have completed high school and fewer actually enter college or technical-vocational training, but those that have have had a significant impact on the judgment of the kind of schooling desired. The direction of aspiration is toward college and professional, white collar jobs and careers. Only in a few instances did parents mention vocational training.

It is not the level of education that will be obtained however. To the question, "How many years of schooling would you like your children to get?" over half the families saw it necessary to qualify their remarks with statements about conditions affecting the completion of the desired schooling. Parents says:

"I sure do like to see my grandchildren to get graduate in high school, if I can afford it. . . The clothes is so high priced. Even shoes. And the school—they wear high priced clothes and shoes when they were in high school. They get ashamed when they were in high school."

Another parent remarks:

"If I could support her, I would like to send her through college but we have failed the oldest of our children, but we finally made it for Anne, she is in Haskell. If I could afford them, I wish they would go through 4 years in college."

Progress, if that word can be used, is frightfully slow. The degree of effort, sacrifice and will-power that it takes a family to get even one child in Haskell can only be imagined. First there is high school, which even the normal cost of public education is often prohibitively expensive, many people remarked on the inability to meet the added expenses of junior and senior years—rings, pictures, clothes, etc.—and money simply not being available they quit. The family wants a college education but it is only a wish; if it is economically possible, they compromise with what is available. Even the compromise many times cannot be had because of finances.

Among the constraining factors, expenses was the most prevalent. There were a few families who gave a warning signal about "personal failure" in relation to the economics. Among these people there is the beginning of an acceptance of the reality of *what is* without any attempt to define or structure a way of moving away from that. The balance between reality and aspiration is no longer present, which means that economic poverty, as a condition for most of the families, in these few cases may be called a disease—one succumbs to the condition and no longer attempts to seek the means for economic stability.

One would have assumed that this kind of situation would have prevailed, for Cherokee families live within a near overwhelming economic environment and the dire circumstances of cultural conflict with their white neighbors is exacerbated by the regional and southern conditions of class and caste. That economic poverty is a part of a reality that can be controlled and changed means that certain avenues for this end are being structured within Cherokee life. Education is one of these although it remains, for the most part, aspiration and a "wish" rather than an actuality.

The value of education for Cherokee families is for jobs, more jobs, better ones and the availability of many job opportunities from which one can choose. This stands in bold relief. For the majority, the value of education is narrowly focused on economic gain. Primarily it is a means for securing employment; secondly, it is to gain the kind of jobs that would no longer make it necessary to be dependent on welfare assistance; and thirdly, it is a means by which basic needs can be met and sustained so that there is an opportunity for an "easy life," as they say.

There is a disquieting element represented in 27 families who doubted the validity of education, and who could quite possibly be related to those who saw education for economic gain. These families have a logic that can be stated as such: if the value of education is for economic reasons, and there are no jobs then education can be dispensed with; it is not worth the time and effort of the family to support it. For these families, the reasons for education form a tight, either or proposition which we cannot discount. A question must be raised about the pervasiveness of this kind of reasoning. Will Cherokee families, as more become educated and if they cannot find jobs in the local area, withdraw more and more from the schools? Perhaps it is occurring now; we have no means of knowing, but there are signs pointing in this direction.

As much as there is the potential for education to be considered useless, there is an equal and perhaps larger number for whom it is not, most of these people see education in more than economic context. As we move beyond the tight, neatly constructed picture of education and economics we are confronted with a vastly complex reasoning that contains all the uncertainties and unknowns of cultural change and differences. Questions are raised not only about the value of education but also about the process of education. We are confronted by new and different definitions of education, an out-reaching and an attempt to reorder and restructure that culturally foreign institution, the school, so that it will be an institution as much for the Cherokee, as it is for their white neighbors. This is to say that there is a law of balances governing change; if the Cherokee are to change, then, as they see it, it is only right that the school must change also. Quite possibly, all of this is directed toward making the school and education fit their economic expectations.

Whether there are two different lines of reasoning present about the value of education, or whether they are one in the same, or whether one is a continuation or a refinement of the other remains a question. What is quite clear through all the statements is that there is a complex and mazelike pattern of thought and understanding about education that is first and foremost, for the Cherokee, a series of questions that represent a search for answers and a search for a means of implementing or changing whatever they find. One parent brings all these issues into perspective:

"I'll say they could have an easy job and an easy life for their own good, and also they could help their own people who don't understand English. They can translate English and Cherokee both. There is a lot of Cherokee Indians in our country who don't talk or understand English, and the white people were cheating on the Cherokee just because they couldn't understand the English, or whatever the white man said.

They will do whatever the white man says, even if they don't understand. They tell you, sign your name and the old Cherokee will sign X in his signature. That was it. And the white man will get what he wants from the Cherokee Indians with the signature.

I know. It has happen a lot of times. I wish we could have Cherokee who could have a good education, who could help his people. But it sure is hard to find one that can help his people when he has a good education. It is hard for him to be on his own nationality side. He would just be against his people.

Two things stand clear. First, families are not in a position to dispense with education; they see it unwise and unprofitable not to look closely at the value of education for economic stabilization and advancement. At the same time they do not have the choice to dispense with it nor avenues to alter it, even if they so choose, for they are held by law and tradition of the encompassing society. No matter how disadvantageous schooling may seem, they cannot withdraw from it. Secondly, few people get through high school and almost no one gets through college, so that "education for what?" answered solely by economic reasons exists only in the hypothetical realm of plan and aspiration and not in the practical, actual sense of what it is in reality giving, and that, most definitely, goes beyond the economic realm.

"Education for what?" is governed by aspiration and the actuality of education and it is not answerable by relating it to one or the other. One of my associates explored this question by examining it via the process of education. In conclusion she stated, "For most, the final resolution of the conflict of the school system with their Cherokee feelings of integrity is total withdrawal from the academic setting, leaving them as young adults, with heavy skepticism about the value of education, for any purpose whatsoever" (p. 57). This conclusion I find is somewhat contradictory and incongruent with the high educational aspiration and the benefits of education perceived as jobs and economic security. At the same time, value and process of education are quite different matters. A question about the permanency and pervasiveness of the skepticism has to be raised, skepticism does exist, but it is of the nature that affects the attitude about the value of education?

It seems, at first glance, a somewhat unimportant point whether one is skeptical about value or process of education; but it is fundamentally important, for to be skeptical about value and yet unable to dismiss schooling makes these young people and the families victims of circumstances. To be skeptical about process, to question methods and purposes, to actually drop from school in final revolt or revulsion is evidence of a continuing hold on reality and the attempt to control it. This I see Cherokee students doing.

Although the decision to drop from school is personal choice, that decision is not static, effecting only the individual, but it effects all others to whom one owes responsibility and obligations within the interdependency of family. Skepticism exists about the process of education and not the value, and it is of the quality of indignation, moral indignation and revulsion. Value remains somewhat constant because it is only partly experiential and it is related not only to student but to the family, and importantly it offers one of the few links to economic security.

Dropping out and withdrawal from school is a most positive step, a form of protest and possible control and criticism of the school. Observations in the seventh and eighth grades showed students in a constant struggle to find the means by which they could engage in academic learning. They maintained one fast, democratic rule: we do not adapt or compromise if the teacher does not. That this condition was continually usurped by the teacher was a constant source of sometimes bitter and traumatic conflict. Students were not passive, for they had worked out a highly unique and viable system of defense and means of dealing with the teacher. That the struggle centered around cultural differences in learning and teaching, academic subjects were rarely approached. Within this they were continually attempting to tell the teacher, and sometimes actually training her, how to teach Cherokee students. Whatever way they turned was a dead end and many left school, I am sure, out of sheer boredom and frustration at not being able to "get education," for the teacher continually usurped whatever inroads at "getting educated" they made.

"Education for what?" still remains a question. In very real and cold facts education for the Cherokee remains at a distance and it is for the most part unobtainable because of what goes on in the school. Meaningful education for the Cherokee we can only define in the abstractions of it being in the balance of cultural difference, a complicated series of transaction. Examining what occurs in the school, while at the same time looking at what parents say, will give some meaning to the balance of cultural differences.

It is quite apparent from either the school or the Cherokee families' perspective that English and not Cherokee is the foreign language in the classroom. This is understood quite well by the families but not so by the school. One parent remarks, "No they don't speak English (when the children entered school)—they took it up after they started school. The father doesn't allow children to speak English at home till they can speak good Cherokee." Another parent stated, "No, I think the best way for Cherokee kids is to learn Indian first, then English afterwards, so they can talk both."

In order for schooling to be effective it is necessary there be communication, understanding and dialogue between the teacher and students. Without this academic learning is brought to an abrupt halt. This is always present in the majority of classrooms, for English is the foreign language in the schools but the only language of the teachers, and the majority of the students speak only Cherokee. Parents are quite aware of this situation.

"We would like to have a better teacher in the school. One who can do better teaching for the Cherokee Indians. Some Cherokee Indians is hard to learn to talk English—some are hard headed and they couldn't catch it right away, how to read, write and speak. Cherokee are not all the same—some were easy for it."

Among the many different ways in which this is handled in the classroom, the simplest and most successful solution would be for the teacher to learn Cherokee or to have interpreters. As parents suggested:

"We would like to have Cherokee teacher in each school where the little ones start in the first year in school because the little ones some of them, they don't talk English. In our school, here, it is alright where George goes. Also we would like to have a Cherokee book teacher."

It is a simple and logical solution for Cherokee families to arrive at, for it is inherent in the intercultural setting, especially when one is of the cultural minority. What the parent sees as a justified solution is one educators only recently have accepted, but one which is still radical and unacceptable in many schools, such as those the Cherokee attend.

Although language is one of the most crucial issues it remains far from having a solution. Families, I would venture to say, work more persistently and harder for a solution than many of the schools for a good many of them teach their children some English before entering school. In a variety of different ways they undertake the task of teaching, which at best holds few rewards or results, for few adults and children possess any real ability in English. Why this is done is not because of what we conventionally think. Primarily, teaching English is first and foremost a means of control and constraint of the school and, in time, of the economic condition. It would be grave error on our part even to assume that English is or is not taught because of any desire to acculturate or to accommodate to school demands. This is not to say, however, that the pressures and forces pushing the Cherokee in the direction of the encompassing society seem to be overwhelming and ready to swallow them up. It does not happen and one can only stand in awe of their "cultural strength."

A knowledge of English means less mis-understanding and conflict between students and teachers, but at the same time a more viable knowledge of Cherokee makes one stronger in the face of cross-cultural mis-understanding and conflict. Cherokee thought moves in these two directions; behind each is the wholeness and the strength of Cherokee life, as that being the only sane and unquestionable foundation from which to relate to the encompassing society.

At the beginning of school or at the end of school when one goes to work, to know English is a basic necessity. The Cherokee know this from the intense and sometimes brutal consequences to the non-English speaking child in the first grade; the continued participation in school but not becoming educated; and the inability of finding jobs because one has not learned English in school in order to ask for a job. Language is more than a set of words. The Cherokee know that but the school does not. One of the tasks of the school is to teach English, to teach it as the foreign language not divorced from culture. That this does not occur in the school raises a question about the tasks of teaching.

Without interpreters or teachers who speak Cherokee the school is poorly equipped to meet the first and basic needs of the students. The conflict arising initially from language difference between teacher and students not able to communicate on the most basic level immediately turns into conflict arising out of the difference in the culturally prescribed modes of teaching and learning. This is most severe in the first and second grades, and there is only the appearance of its lessening as the child acquires some ability in English. The tension that comes into being in these first grades is never resolved in later grades but only goes undercover. Students by the third grade have acquired a minimal ability in English, which is rarely developed beyond the point of giving the appearance of superficial compliance and accommodation to teacher requests. Classrooms are studies in silence, which has as much variation and complexity as the verbal dialogues one commonly associates with the classroom. The silence represents the inability to converse in English, and more importantly it is a protection and defense against teacher demands, for it is most effective in halting and impeding classwork.

The teacher's most pressing task is to begin to develop a method of work within which order is maintained to promote effective teaching and learning of the academic subjects. What in a conventional classroom would be routine in the intercultural becomes an arduous, burdensome, and sometimes insurmountable task. The teacher has no training in cultural difference nor does the school provide any avenues by which she can learn about Cherokee life. Many are from the local area and have lived around Cherokee and other Indians all their lives, as well as having gone to school with them, but this rarely promotes the kind of cross-cultural knowledge required to teach in the classroom. Quite often, like the majority of the people in this area, they see the rural Indians not as culturally different but of lower class, which implies their being similar to them but lower on the social scale. In any case, the odds are against the teacher acquiring that knowledge and understanding about Cherokee life which is fundamentally necessary in order to teach.

Teachers fall into three general groups in their response to Cherokee students. The first is characterized by teacher ambivalence which easily turns into lethargy. For this teacher the task of teaching is insurmountable and she no longer cares whether students learn or not; they resort to tired monologues, busy work, dismiss the class, or let the students carry on themselves with only minimal direction. Little else need be said, except the ambivalence eases and avoids a good deal of tension. Parents and children will say the teacher is "nice," but they do not overlook the fact that teaching and learning are not present. A parent can be rightfully indignant:

"The teacher treat this child nice and she don't teach like she should. The teacher don't teach nothing. She don't care if they don't learn nothing."

The second group is characterized by open confrontation with the task of teaching but outside the context of cultural difference. This teacher has no comprehension of what it means not-to-understand because the language and culture is foreign. They want to teach, have to teach and the nervousness generates, at times, overt hostility and aggression. This was observed even in the seventh and eighth grades where the teacher was quite aware that what she was doing was but a pretense of teaching. Each day there was an attempt and each day she became angry at the students because of what she could not do—teach. It was a vicious circle. For the teacher it was traumatic experience, because by the standards of this part of the country she had been an extremely good teacher with English speaking students. What these kinds of teachers cannot see is cultural difference and how it operates. Any of their attempts to resolve conflicts do not work for their solutions are held outside the context of cultural difference. Only a miracle will resolve the problems inherent in this manner of solution, and these kinds of miracles do not happen in the classroom.

The third response is to work within the context of cultural difference. Many teachers move toward this, but it is only the rare teacher who understands the complexity of this, in one form or another, and is able to teach effectively.

What goes on in the school is value conflict and it is also cultural misunderstanding or more appropriately cultural-blindness. Teachers have little knowledge of how it is to be different. What they do, in large measure is outside the context of cultural difference. This is in line with their training which is held in one cultural complex, and it does not equip them to ask of themselves how it feels to be a Cherokee student. Many times it makes them ignorant or unaware of what they do. This is not condemnation, for most teachers do want to teach, but they cannot in these settings because of what they do not know. It is a unique and special set of skills they need and nowhere in their training or in the school are they given any assistance.

As we attempt to define those avenues open to rectify this ignorance it is the parents who assist and define the situation. One parent stated:

"We would like to see our children that go to school do something like the teacher has done when they went to school. They learned how to be teachers and then children could go in the footsteps of what they have done, trying to be teachers. So we would like to have good teachers in our school for our children where they can be good students. All I am asking is to have a good leader in our community school, where our children go, because they sure do have a hard time in school. Thye have a hard time to learn anything that they should. The Cherokee Indians it's hard to understand the English to start with. The teacher has to explain well; understand, because they are Cherokee. We send the children to school to read and write and talk English, not to just get punished (30)."

It is a striking metaphor relating the act of student learning to that kind of learning the student engaged in while becoming a teacher. Cherokee definitions of competency are placed on the act of teaching; they perceive it as an art in the management of social relations, as well as relating a body of knowledge. It is a highly moral act as well as is learning, which when verbalized and intellectualized into a systematic set of transactions is to proceed with a similar artistry and ability as one teaches. Of course, Cherokee parents expect too much from the school; but the children are trained to bring to the classroom ways of working and learning governed by an acute social sensitivity and competency in social relations.

It follows, although unexpected, that the families are most critical of the school. Over half requested improvements within the school through "better teachers and better teaching," "Indian teachers," and "better curriculum."

Parents used the pharse "love" most frequently as that which the teachers should do with Cherokee children but seldom, if ever, did—"love all the students alike, Indian and white." This phrase was used concurrently with "trust," "teach them until they understand," and "teachers gave out to teach the children." One parent states:

"Some teachers are unable to love the Cherokee Indian. I wish they could love both Cherokee and white the same—they should! Because I know some teacher they don't like the Indians. Seems like they have to care more for the white than they do for the Indian. Whenever they are qualified to teach they have to love their kind of people. When I went to school, I knew the teacher love more the white then the Cherokee. When I ask my problem she wouldn't teach me like she ought to."

It is an impressive statement, for like many of the other Cherokee parents, they see the act of teaching is culturally prescribed and when it is held in that framework it is of dubious value for people of another culture. With flair and sophistication that one rarely encounters in discussions on education, cultural continuities and discontinuities are pin-pointed.

At the center of the cultural differences in the classroom is authority. White students, white parents and teachers work within a system of what can be called contractual authority. This is to say it is the task of academic learning which are most important and for which parents delegate authority to the teacher over the child, so that the tasks be accomplished. For the Cherokee, the tasks of academic learning are of secondary importance to the way in which they are learned; the relationship of students and teacher are of primary importance. In this must be recognized the respect of individual autonomy and balanced-harmonious relationships. It is to say that they have a concept of contractual authority; the teaching-learning transaction is one of moral authority. If the teacher understood this it would not give her greater freedom or control but it would circumscribe her actions. It would not make her above reproach but it would make her vulnerable to error which she would have to acknowledge and rectify in her relationship to students. This, of course, rarely occurs in the conventional and traditional forms of contractual authority within the classroom.

At first glance it would seem impossible for the typical teacher to bridge the cultural distance; but it is not so, for Cherokee children given half a chance exert tremendous energy to assist in the learning teaching transaction, for they see each engagement as the development of competency of social relations. They value precision and expertise, and it is with subtlety and nuance of an acute social sensitivity that they involve themselves in lessons when they see the road clear. In a classroom that was generally a series of different levels of silence, students, when the teacher approached them in a manner they found appropriate and one they could accept, began to talk, which astounded the teacher. She had begun the lesson in a light bantering tone, which she maintained, and students began to answer questions. It was sustained for about thirty minutes until the teacher began to preach about the right ways of doing things and the students fell silent again.

This is important to remember, for quite often it is the tone underlying the words that is easily understood and interpreted without one possessing any knowledge of the meaning of words. This, Cherokee are extremely adept at and the teacher makes his own trap since he generally controls by talking when faced with silence, and as the silence continues his words generally begin to have tones of hostility and aggression, so that what he is attempting to get, he is in the solution pushing it further away. It can be and often is a vicious cycle, for moral and contractual authority exist on two different levels which never intersect, and if the teacher does not understand this there is no way to rectify the mistakes that keep him from teaching.

It is here that the small minority of parents who asked for Indian teachers to assist the white teacher are most significant for they propose means of correction that move toward a cross-cultural communication and understanding. At the same time they represent the voice of the parents who asked for better teaching and better teachers.

Parental requests or curriculum change are refinements of the requests and criticism discussed above. Two stated that school was "too easy" and that it should be made harder or the children should be pushed harder. This would be in academic learning, and it stands to reason with the emphasis placed on competency. Two wanted Cherokee to be taught as an academic subject; two requested the Bible be taught. Another family said that anyone going to school should have a "favorite thing". Remarkably only one family asked for the most stringent of all reforms, the germ of which is in many of the other criticisms but only with this family is it verbalized.

"I wish they could have their own school for the Cherokee Indians, because they might get a better education where they can use it, because I know that some children they finish the twelfth grade and they don't have no job any place."

It is a weeping condemnation of the school. Undoubtedly this new school would be like no school that the Cherokee are familiar with, federal, private, public or mission school. Evidently no school has done the job of educating competently. That they do still want schools reinforces the fact that they do not want to dispense with schooling but that they want more and something different than they are now getting.

Not only for the Cherokee but for many other people throughout this country we must raise the issue of meaningful education. Do we know what meaningful education is? Will we provide this for the Cherokee or can we?

THE CHEROKEE SCHOOL SOCIETY AND THE INTERCULTURAL CLASSROOM*

(By Robert V. Dumont, Jr., National Indian Youth Council, and Murray L. Wax, the University of Kansas (Lawrence))

INTRODUCTORY

"Indian education" is one of those phrases whose meaning is not the sum of its component words. Notoriously, "education" is an ambiguous word which is used to justify and idealize a variety of relationships (*or*, indeed, to criticize the same). In the context where the pupils are members of a lower caste or ethnically subordinated group, *education* has come to denominate a unidirectional process by which missionaries—or others impelled by motives of duty, reform, charity, and self-sacrifice—attempt to uplift and civilize the disadvantaged and barbarian. *Education* then is a process imposed upon a target population in order to shape and stamp them into becoming dutiful citizens, responsible employees, or good Christians.[1]

---

*This is a product of the Indian Education Research Project sponsored by the University of Kansas (Lawrence) under contract with the U.S. Office of Education according to the provisions of the Cooperative Research Act; the Principal Investigator was Murray L. Wax. The field research on the communities and schools analyzed in this essay was conducted by Robert V. Dumont and Mildred Dickeman with assistance from Lucille Proctor, Elsie Willingham, Kathryn Red Corn, Clyde and Della Warrior. Sole responsibility for this text rests with the authors.

A paper bearing the title "The Intercultural Classroom" and having much the same orientation, but different in details and structure of argument, was presented by Robert V. Dumont at a panel session on Indian education at the annual meetings of the Society for Applied Athropology, Washington, D.C., Spring, 1967.

In the modern federal and public school systems serving Indian children, there is less of the specifically religious quality, but there is felt the active presence of the missionizing tradition, however secularized. To appreciate this fully, we may remind ourselves that what has been involved in the "education" presented to—more often enforced upon—the American Indians has been nothing less than the transformation of their traditional cultures and the total reorganization of their societies.[2]

By denominating this as *unidirectional*, we mean to emphasize that the major transformations which have spontaneously been occurring, among Indian peoples are neglected in the judgments of the reforming educators.[3] As a major contemporary instance, we need but turn to the first few pages of a recent book, representing the work of a committee of a high repute. The initial paragraph tells us that the goal of public policy should be "making the Indian a self-respecting and useful American citizen" and that this requires "restoring his pride of origin and faith in himself," while on the following page we find that very origin being derogated and distorted with the left-handed remark that "it would be unwise to dismiss all that is in the traditional Indian culture as being necessarily a barrier to change." [4] The mythic image of an unchanging traditional Indian culture does not bear discussion here; rather, we direct attention to the fact that such a remark could be advanced as the theme of a contemporary book about Indians and that this book could then receive favorable reviews both from liberals involved in Indian affairs and from the national Indian interest organizations. Clearly, those reviewers take it for granted that Indian education should be unidirectional (none seemed to have thought it noteworthy that the last chapter of the book was titled "Policies Which Impede Indian Assimilation" although the implication of that title is that the necessary goal is total ethnic and cultural dissolution).

An alternate way of perceiving the unidrectionality by which we here characterize "Indian education" is to note the curious division of labor bifurcating the process of cultural exchange with Indian peoples: missionaries and educators devote themselves to instructing the Indians but not themselves learning from or being influenced by them; whereas ethnographers devote themselves to learning from the Indians but not themselves teaching or influencing them. Thus, the ethnographers value the learning of the native languages, whereas the schoolmasters and missionaries have only seldom devoted themselves to learning them, even when the native language is the primary tongue of their Indian pupils and the primary domestic and ceremonial medium of the community in which they are laboring.

Because Indian educational programs have been unidirectionally organized, deliberately ignoring native languages and traditions, they have had to proceed more via duress than suasion. Today the duress is in the laws of compulsory attendance, as enforced by an appropriate officer, but the climax of traditional "Indian education" was the forcible seizing or kidnapping of Indian children by agents of the U.S. government. These children were then incarcerated in boarding establishments whose programs were designed to shape them within the molds of the conquering society. Yet the irony of this crude and brutal effort was that, while the mass of children underwent profound changes, yet their very aggregation provided them with the need and opportunity to cohere and resist. Like the inmates of any total institution, the Indian pupils developed their own norms and values, which were neither those of their Indian elders nor those of their non-Indian instructors. Such a process of autonomous development has continued to distinguish much of Indian conduct in relation to modern programs and schools, including the classrooms which shortly we will be reviewing.[5]

---

[1] Cf. Rosalie H. Wax and Murray L. Wax, "American Indian Education for What?" *Mid-continent American Studies Journal*, VI, 2 (Fall, 1965), 164–170.

[2] An enlightening account of the mission schools for American Indians may be found in the chapter, "Nurseries of Morality," in Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787–1862* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 20–43.

[3] Unfortunately, some of the anthropological textbooks on American Indians have been guilty of indulging in the same static imagery, as they present the particular tribes in "the ethnographic present." Conspicuous and happy exceptions are such books as Edward H. Spicer's *Cycles of Conquest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962) and Fred Eggan's *The American Indian* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

[4] *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business*, compiled by William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966). The citations are from pp. 3–4.

TRIBAL CHEROKEE COMMUNITIES

The consequence of the various reformative and educational programs aimed at the Indian peoples has been not to eliminate the target societies but rather, paradoxically, to encourage an evolution which has sheltered an ethnic and distinct identity. So, today, there remain a relatively large number of persons, identified as Indians, and dwelling together in enclaved, ethnically and culturally distinctive communities. The Tribal Cherokee of contemporary northeastern Oklahoma are not untypical.[6] Like other Indian communities, they have lost the greater measure of their political autonomy to federal, state, and local agencies. Many of the contemprary Indian peoples do have "Tribal Governments" but these do not correspond to traditional modes of social organization or proceed by traditional modes of deliberation and action. In the specific case of the Oklahoma Cherokee, the "Tribal Government" is a non-elected, non-representative, and self-perpetuating clique, headed by individuals of great wealth and political power, while the Tribal Cherokee are among the poorest denizens of a depressed region, and while their indigenous associations are denied recognition by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Cherokee of Oklahoma once practiced an intensive and skilled subsistence agriculture, but this has all but disappeared as the Indians have lost their lands and been denied the opportunity to practice traditional forms of land tenure. The rural lands now find employment principally for cattle ranching (often practiced on a very large scale) and for tourism and a few local industries (e.g. plant nurseries, chicken processing) or crops (strawberries) which require a cheap and docile labor supply. Until the recent building of dams and paved highways and the concomitant attempt to develop the region as a vacationland, the Tribal Cherokee were able to supplement their diet with some occasional game or fish, but they now find themselves harassed by state game and fish regulations, while subjected to the competition of weekend and vacation sportsmen.

Like the other Indian societies of North America, the Cherokee have been goaded along a continuum that led from being autonomous societies to being a "domestic dependent nation" and thence to being an ethnically subordinated people in a caste-like status. In Oklahoma there is a distinctive non-caste peculiarity. A vast majority of the population will claim to be "of Indian descent" as this signifies a lineage deriving from the earliest settlers. To be "of Cherokee descent" is a mark of distinction, particularly in the northeast of Oklahoma, since to the knowledgeable it connotes such historic events as "Civilized Tribes" and the "Trail of Tears." Yet, paradoxically, there exist others whose claim to Indianness is undeniable, while their mode of life is offensive to the middleclass. The term, *Indian*, tends to be used to denote those who are judged as being idle, irresponsible, uneducated, and a burden to the decent and taxpaying element of the area. Within northeastern Oklahoma, the *Indians* are the Tribal Cherokees, and their communities are marked by high rates of unemployment, pitifully low cash incomes, and a disproportionate representation on the rolls of relief agencies. Perhaps the major respect in which the Cherokee Indians differ from those such as the Sioux of Pine Ridge is that the latter, being sited on a well-known federal reservation, are the targets of myriads of programs from a multiplicity of federal, private, and local agencies, whereas the Cherokee are still mainly the targets of welfare workers, sheriffs, and aggressive entrepreneurs.[7]

---

[5] An excellent and brief summary and bibliography of the history of research on Indian education will be found in the presentation by Philleo Nash, pp. 6–30, *Proceedings* of the National Research Conference on American Indian Education, edited by Herbert A. Aurback (Kalamazoo, Mich.: The Society for the Study of Social Problems, 1967). In order to discuss the history of research on Indian education, Nash was obligated to deal with some of the major changes of policy as well. The Conference *Proceedings* also contain a summary review by William H. Kelly of current research on Indian education, and in general the discussions and bibliographies will be found helpful. Histories of Indian education will be found in the following: Willard W. Beatty, "Twenty Years of Indian Education," *The Indian in Modern America*, ed. David A. Baerreis (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1956), pp. 16–49; Evelyn C. Adams, *American Indian Education* (New York: King Crowns Press, 1946); Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans* (New York: Harper, 1959), chap. xii. And of course the Meriam Report included an intensive assessment of the goals and achievements of Indian education, Lewis Meriam and Associates, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928, especially pp. 346–429.

[6] The term "Tribal Cherokee" we take from the research reports of Albert Wahrhaftig, which, in addition to whatever information may be inferred from the tables of the U.S. Census, constitute the best recent source on the condition of the Cherokee of Oklahoma. See his "Social and Economic Characteristics of the Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma" and "The Tribal Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma" both produced under sponsorship of the Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago (mimeographed, 1965); also his "Community and the Caretakers," *New University Thought*, IV, 4, (Winter 1966/67, 54–76. Also pertinent are the unpublished essay by Murray L. Wax, "Ecology, Economy, and Educational Achievement" (Lawrence: Indian Education Research Project of the University of Kansas; mimeographed, 1967); as well as Angie Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma: Report on Social and Economic Conditions* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Assn., 1951).

In this essay we wish to focus on the schools attended by Indian children in the cases where they are the preponderant element of the school population. This condition is realized not only on reservations, where the federal government operates a special school system under the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but in other regions of the country by virtue of covert systems of segregation. As in the case of Negro-White segregation, the basis is usually ecological, so that, for example, in northeastern Oklahoma the rural concentrations of Tribal Cherokee (along the stream beds in the hill country) predispose toward a segregated system at the elementary levels, but the guiding principle is social, so that Tribal Cherokee children are bussed to rural schools while White children travel to the urban. Within these rural elementary schools, the Indian children confront educators who are ethnically and linguistically alien, even if they appear to be neighbors—of Cherokee or non-Cherokee descent—deriving from an adjacent or a similar geographic area.

Such classrooms may be denominated as "cross-cultural," although the ingredients contributed by each party seem on a careful assessment to be weighted against the Indian pupils. The nature and layout of the school campus, the structure and spatial divisions of the school buildings, the very chairs and their array, all these are products of the greater society and its culture—indeed, they may at first glance appear to be so conventional as to fail to register with the academic observer the significance of their presence within a cross-cultural transaction. Equally conventional, and almost more difficult to apprehend as significant, is the temporal structure: the school period, the school day, and the school calendar. The spatial and temporal grid by which the lives of the Indian pupils are to be organized is foreign to their native traditions while manifesting the symbolic structure of the society which has encompassed them.

The observer thus anticipates that the classroom will be the arena for an unequal clash of cultures. While the parental society is fenced out of the school, whatever distinctive traditions have been transmitted to their children will now be "taught out" of them, and the wealth, power, and technical supremacy of the greater society will smash and engulf these traditionalized folk. Forced to attend school, the Indian children there confront educators who derive their financial support, their training and ideology, their professional affiliation and bureaucratic status, from a complex of agencies and institutions based far outside the local Indian community. The process is designed as unidirectional: the children are to be "educated" and thus the Indian communities are to be transformed; meanwhile, neither the educator nor the agencies for which he is a representative are presumed to be altered—at least by the learning process.

CHEROKEES IN THE CLASSROOM

The classrooms where Indian students and a White teacher create a complex and shifting sequence of interactions exhibit as many varieties of reality and illusion as there are possible observers. One such illusion—in the eyes of the White educator—is that the Cherokee are model pupils. Within their homes they have learned a restraint and caution as the proper mode of relating to others, and so in the classroom the teacher finds it unnecessary to enforce discipline. As early as the second grade, the young children are sitting with perfect posture, absorbed in their readers, rarely talking—and then in the softest of tones—and never fidgeting. Even when they are marking time, unable to understand what is occurring within the classroom, or bored by what they are able to understand, they make themselves unobtrusive while keeping one ear attuned to the educational interchange. They respect competence in scholastic work, and their voluntary activities both in and out of school are organized surprisingly often and with great intensity about such skills. Eager to learn, they devote long periods of time to their assignments, while older and more experienced students instruct their siblings in the more advanced arithmetic they will be encountering at higher grade levels.

---

[7] Cf. Murray L. Wax and Rosalie H. Wax, "The Enemies of the People," *Institutions and the Person: Essays Presented to Everett C. Hughes*, ed. Howard S. Becker, *et al.* (Chicago: Aldine Press, forthcoming).

To the alien observer (whether local teacher or otherwise), the Cherokee children seem to love to "play school." Dumont recalls talking during one recess period with an elderly White woman who had devoted many years to teaching in a one room school situated in an isolated rural Cherokee community and who now was responsible for the intermediate grades in a more consolidated enterprise that still was predominantly Cherokee. "You just have to watch these children," she said, "If you don't pay no mind, they'll stay in all recess. They like to play school." And, as if to illustrate her point, she excused herself, returned into the school building, and returned with a straggle of children. "They told me they had work they wanted to do, but it is too nice for them to stay inside. . . . You know, I forgot how noisy students were until I went to the (County Seat) for a teacher's meeting. It's time for me to ring the bell now. (If I don't,) they will come around and remind me pretty soon."

Given the seeming dedication of her pupils, the naive observer might have judged this woman an exceedingly skilled and effective teacher—a Sylvia Ashton-Warner among the Tribal Cherokee—and yet the reality is that she was a rather poor teacher, and that at the time of graduation the pupils of her one-room school had scarcely known any English, a fact so well known that parents said of her, "She don't teach them anything!"

Like many of her White colleagues, this woman was interpreting Cherokee conduct from within her own cultural context, and as much is evident on close inspection of the remark quoted, where the intensive involvement of her pupils in the learning tasks is mentioned as *playing* school. In kindred fashion, teachers like herself will describe the silence of the students as timidity or shyness, and experience their control and restraint as docility. Most teachers are not able to observe more than their own phase of the complex reality which occurs within their classrooms; they are too firmly set within their own traditions, being the products of rural towns and of small state teachers colleges, and now working within and limited by a tightly structured institutional context. Certainly, one benefit of teaching Indians in rural schools is that the educators are sheltered from observation and criticism. Except for their own consciences and professional ideologies, no one cares about, guides or supervises their performance, and there is little pressure for them to enlarge their awareness of classroom realities.

Even for ourselves, who have had much experience in the observing of Indian classrooms, it required many hours of patient and careful watching (plus the development of some intimacy with the local community), before we began to appreciate the complexities of interaction within the Cherokee schoolroom. The shape assumed by the clash of cultures was a subtle one and, at first, could be appreciated most easily in the frustration of the teachers; the war within the classrooms was so cold that its daily battles were not evident, except at the close of the day as the teachers assessed their lack of pedagogical accomplishment. Those teachers who defined their mission as a "teaching out" of native traditions were failing to register any headway; some of these good people had come to doubt their ability to work with children so difficult and retiring (although the fact was—as we came to know—that their pupils contained a fair share of youngsters who were eager, alert, intelligent, and industrious). A few teachers had resigned themselves to marking time within the school, while surrendering all notions of instruction. As these phenomena began to impress themselves upon our minds, we began to discern in these schoolrooms an active social entity that we came to call "The Cherokee School Society." (Later, still, we were to be surprised by other classrooms where this Society remained latent and where instead the teacher and students were constructing intercultural bridges for communication and instruction; under the heading of "Intercultural Classrooms," these will be discussed below.)

In order to comprehend the complexity of interaction within these classrooms, we need to remain ourselves that the children who are performing here as pupils have been socialized (or enculturated) within the world of the Tribal Cherokee as fully and extensively as have any children of their age in ther communities. In short, we must disregard the material poverty of the Tribal Cherokee families and their lower class status, and we must firmly discard any of the cant about "cultural deprivation" or "cultural disadvantage." These children are culturally alien, and for the outsider—whether he be educator or social researcher—to enter into their universe is as demanding as the mastering of an utterly foreign tongue. In the brief compass of an article, it is hard to do more than indicate a few of the more striking evidences of their distinctive cultural background.

Even in the first grade Cherokee children exhibit a remarkable propensity for precision and thoroughness. Asked to arrange into a pyramidal form a set of colored matchsticks, the children become involved so thoroughly with maintaining an impeccable vertical and horizontal alignment that they become oblivious to the number learning which they are supposed to acquire via this digital exercise. These six year olds did not resolve the task by leaving it at the level of achievement for which their physical dexterity would suffice, but continued to manipulate the sticks in a patient effort to create order beyond the limitations of the material and their own skills. As they mature, the Cherokee student continue this patient and determined ordering of the world, but as a congregate activity that is more often directed at social than physical relationships. At times this orientation becomes manifest in an effort toward a precision in social affairs that is startling to witness in persons so young (here, sixth graders):

The teacher has asked about the kinds of things which early pioneers would say to each other in the evening around the campfire as they were traveling.

"Jane. Save your food.

"Teacher. That's preaching.

"Jane and Sally (together). No.

"Jane. That is just to tell you (the tone of voice makes her sound just like a teacher)."

The teacher agrees, and his acquiescent tone makes him sound like the student. He continues, "They would get you in a room . . ."

"Jane (interrupts). Not in a room.

"Teacher. In around a campfire then."

He continues by asking if everyone would be given a chance to speak or just representatives.

"Dick. That would take all night; they might forget."

Jane and Sally agree that representatives would be the right way.

The foregoing is as significant for the form of the interaction, as it is revealing of the students' concern for the precise reconstruction of a historical event. The students have wrought a reversal of roles, so that their standards of precision and their notions of social intercourse merged as normative for the discussion.

Although this kind of exchange rarely occurs—and actually is typical only of the Intercultural Classroom—we have used it here, for it reflects many of the norms of Cherokee students.

As healthy children, they are oriented toward the world of their elders, and they see their goal as participating as adults in the Cherokee community of their parents. In this sense, the art of relating to other persons so that learning or other cooperative efforts, may proceed fruitfully and without friction has become more important to them than the mastery of particular scholastic tasks, whose relevance is in any case dubious. In the matrix of the classroom they learn to sustain, order, and control the relationships of a Cherokee community, and in so doing they are proceeding toward adult maturity and responsibility.

According to these norms, the educational exchange is voluntary for both parties and governed by a mutual respect. In any educational transaction, the Cherokee School Society is actively judging the competence of the teacher and allowing him a corresponding function as leader. Their collective appraisal does not tolerate the authoritarian stance assumed by some educators—"You must learn this!"—but rather facilitates the emergence of a situation in which the teacher leads because he knows—"I am teaching you this because you are indicating that you wish to learn . . .". A consequence of this configuration (or, in the eyes of an unsympathetic observer, a symptom) is that the Cherokee students may not organize themselves to master certain categories of knowledge that the school administration has by its formal statements chosen to require of them.

We must bear in mind that within the Tribal Cherokee community, reading or writing English, calculating arithmetically, and even speaking English have but minor employment and minimal utility. By the intermediate grades, the students are aware that, without having more than a marginal proficiency in spoken or written English, their elders are leading satisfactory lives as Cherokees. Attempts by their teacher to exhort them toward a high standard of English proficiency and a lengthy period of time-serving in the school system will arouse from the students a sophisticated rejoinder. After one such educational sermon, a ten year old boy bluntly pointed out to his teacher that a Cherokee adult, greatly admired within the local community—and senior kin to many of the pupils present—had but a fifth grade education. When the teacher attempted to evade this rebuttal by asking whether the students would not, as adults, feel inferior because they lacked a lengthy education and could not speak good English, the pupils were again able to rebut. To the teacher's challenge, "Who would you talk to?" the same boy responded, "To other Cherokee!"

Orienting themselves toward the community of their elders, the Cherokee students respond to the pressures of the alien educators by organizing themselves as The Cherokee School Society. As the teacher molds the outer forms of class procedure, so do the children exploit his obtuseness (as a White alien) to construct the terms on which they will act as students. But, while among the Oglala Sioux this transformation was effected with a wondrous boldness and insouciance,[8] here among the Cherokee it is with an exquisite social sensibility. Among these students, a gesture, an inflection in voice, a movement of the eye are as meaningful as a large volume of words for their White peers. By the upper elementary grades, the resultant is a multiple reality according to which the adolescent Cherokee appear now as quiet and shy, or again as stoical and calm, or yet again—as may become apparent after prolonged observation—as engaged in the most intricate web of sociable interaction. Such delicacy of intercourse, so refined a sensibility, requires a precision of movement, a neat and exact ordering of the universe.

Interestingly, the Cherokee School Society does not reject the curricular tasks formulated by the alien educational administrators. In fact, they will proceed with their usual patient intensity to labor upon assignments that can have no bearing upon their tradition or experience. But the fact that they are unable to comprehend these materials or relate them meaningfully to life within the Cherokee community acts as an increasing barrier to their mastery of them. Especially the fact that most students have not acquired anything but a rudimentary proficiency in spoken English has the consequence that the involved patterns of the printed language in the advanced texts are beyond their most diligent endeavors. Neither the language nor the topics can be deciphered.

So far, we have emphasized that the Cherokee students are interested in learning and that, from the viewpoint of the educator, they are docile pupils. Yet the cultural differences which we have noted, and the basic social separateness and lack of communication, ensure that conflicts will develop and become more intensive as the students mature. The school cannot proceed along the trackways established by educational authority, nor can it be switched by the students into becoming an adjunct of the rural Cherokee community. Hence, as they mature, the tension within the schoolroom becomes more extreme. Since the participants are one adult and many children, and since the latter are imbued with a cultural standard of nonviolence and passive resistance, open confrontations do not occur. Instead, what typically happens is that, by the seventh and eighth grades the students have surrounded themselves with a wall of silence that is impenetrable to the outsider while sheltering a rich emotional communion among themselves. The silence is positive, not simply a negative or withdrawal, and it shelters them so that, among other things, they can pursue their scholastic interests in their own style and pace. By their silence they exercise control over the teacher and maneuver him toward a mode of participation that meets their standards.

"TEACHER. Who was Dwight David Eisenhower?

"Silence.

"TEACHER. Have you heard of him, Joan?" (She moves her eyes from his stare and smiles briefly.)

Very quickly, the teacher jumps to the next person. There is something in his voice that is light and not deadly serious or moralistic in the way that is customary of him. He is just having fun, and this comes through so that the kids have picked it up. They respond to the tone, not to the question, "Alice?"

Alice leans back in her chair; her blank stare into space has disappeared, and her eyes are averted. She blushes. Now, she grins.

The teacher does not wait, "Wayne?"

Wayne is sitting straight, and his face wears a cockeyed smile that says he knows something. He says nothing.

---

[8] Cf. Murray L. Wax, Rosalie H. Wax, and Robert V. Dumont, Jr. *Formal Education in an American Indian Community* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: The Society for the Study of Social Problems, 1964), chap. vi.

4

Seeing the foxy grin, the teacher shifts again, "Wayne, you know?" This is a question and that makes all the difference. There is no challenge, no game playing, and the interrogation mark challenges Wayne's competency. But Wayne maintains the foxy grin and shakes his head, negative.

Quickly, the teacher calls on another, "Jake?" (He bends his head down and grins but says nothing.)

Teacher (in authoritative tone): "Nancy, tell me." (But she says nothing, keeping her head lowered, although usually she answers when called upon). The teacher switches tones again, so that what he is asking of Nancy has become a command. Perhaps he catches this, for he switches again to the lighter tone, and says: "Tell me, Debra."

The only one in the room who doesn't speak Cherokee, Debra answers in a flat voice: "President."

As soon as the answer is given, there are many covert smiles, and Alice blushes. They all knew who he was.

To most educators and observers the foregoing incident is perplexing. Who within that classroom really is exercising authority? Are the students deficient in their comprehension either of English or of the subject matter? Are they, perhaps, flexing their social muscles and mocking the teacher—because they don't like the lesson, they don't like him to act as he is acting, or because of what? For the Cherokee School Society has created within the formal confines of the institutional classroom, another social edifice, their own "classroom," so that at times there appears to be, not simply a clash of cultural traditions, but a cold war between rival definitions of the classroom. Such tension is not proper within Cherokee tradition. The Tribal Cherokee value harmonious social relationships and frown upon social conflict. Moderate disagreement among Cherokee is resolved by prolonged discussion that is interspersed, whenever possible, by joking and jesting; severe disagreement leads them to withdraw from the conflictful situation. But, given the compulsory nature of school attendance, the students may not withdraw from the classroom, much as they might wish to do so, and the teacher can only withdraw by losing his job and his income. Thus, an unmanageable tension may develop within the classroom if the teacher is unable to recongize the Cherokee pupils as his peers who, through open discussion, may share with him in the decisions as to the organizing and operating of the school.

The unresolved conflict of cultural differences typifies these classrooms. Within them, there is but little pedagogy, much silence and an atmosphere that is apprehended by Indians (or observers of kindred sensibility) as ominous with tension. The following incident, participated in by Dumont, exhibits in miniature all these features: the classroom was small and the teacher had begun to relate a joke to Dumont. Not far away were seated four teenage Cherokee, and the teacher decided to include them within the range of his ebullience: "Boys, I want to tell you a joke. . ." It was one of those that played upon the stocial endurance of Indians in adapting to the whimsical wishes of Whites, and to narrate it in the classroom context was highly ironic. The plot and phrasing were simple, and easily apprehended by the students. But when the teacher had finished, they merely continued looking toward him, with their eyes focussed, not upon him, but fixed at some point above or to the side of his eyes. As he awaited their laughter, their expressions did not alter but they continued to stare at the same fixed point and then gradually lowered their heads to their work.

The Cherokee School Society maintains a rigid law of balance: we will change when the teacher changes. If the teacher should become involved in appreciating the ways of his Cherokee students, then they will respond with an interest in his ways. Needless to say, the older the students become, and the higher they increase in grade level, the less is the likelihood that this reciprocity will be initiated by their educators. Thus, there is a deep tragedy, for it is the students who lose and suffer the most, and yet the School Society is their technique of protecting themselves so as to endure the alien intrusiveness of the teacher and the discourtesy and barbarity of the school. Occasionally, observer and students experience a happier interlude, for there are to be found teachers who are as remarkable as they are rare and who sometimes are not even aware that their achievements are as prodigious as in fact they are.

THE INTERCULTURAL CLASSROOM

Within the intercultural classroom, Tribal Cherokee students will do such remarkable things as to engage in lengthy conversations with the teacher about academic subjects. For this to occur, the teacher has to be responsive to the distinctive norms and expectations of the students; yet the striking thing is that he does not have to abide by these norms or accept them as long as he is able to transmit to his students that he is willing to learn about them and to accommodate to them. This attitude places the teacher on a plane of parity with his students so that he must learn the most rudimentary cultural Cherokee cultural prescriptions from them, and they in turn become his instructors. Naturally, both parties experience conflicts in this reshuffling of roles; certainly, the interaction is not what the teacher has been trained to sustain. Yet, there arise structured devices for reducing these conflicts. To bridge the social breaches that are always opening, the Cherokee students urge forward one of their members—not always the same person—to mediate and harmonize.

If, by an unconscious presumption, the teacher has disrupted the harmonious flow of class activity, it is the mediator whose deft maneuver reduces the intensity and relaxes the participants. In a sense, what the mediator does is to restore parity between teacher and students by removing the nimbus of authority from the teacher, thus allowing the students to work out with the teacher a compromise which redirects class activities and so permits them to regain their proper tempo.

The teacher is freed to pursue the subject matter, but as scholastic assistant rather than classroom tyrant. With this in mind, let us examine the sequence of events which ended in a conversational repartee already quoted:

They are reading about important men in history and have just finished with a section about educators.

Teacher: "We have two distinguished educators here. Does this make you feel proud?"

It is quiet for the first time in the room. It is likely that the students are all thinking, how could we be proud of educators! As observer, I am uneasy and expectant: I wonder who will break the silence and how he will handle the delicate situation.

"John. I don't like schools myself. (!)

"Teacher. Would you quit school if you could? (He's asking for it!)

"John (a firm answer). Yes.

"Teacher. Suppose that your dad came and said you could quit, but he brought you a shovel and said, 'Dig a ditch from here to Brown's house,' since you weren't going to school.

"John. Okay.

"Another Student. He might learn something."

Everyone finds this humorous; the class is in good spirits and is moving along.

John, too, is quick to reply: "Might strike gold." The topic has been discussed earlier in class. (The interaction develops and others become involved, including the more reticent students).

Here it is John who has played, and most successfully, the role of mediator. The teacher had ventured into a delicate area that had the potential of disrupting the classroom atmosphere. The responding silence had been a token of the social peril, and John, who so often among his peers had assumed the mediating role, moved forward first, boldly countering with a declaration as strong as the teacher's. The consequence is that he redefined the structure of the interaction and became the initiator of the exchange, while the teacher merely sustained it. A cultural bridge was thereby constructed, accessible to all students and the teacher as well, and John's "Okay" is his consent to the conditions of the structure.

The mediating role becomes less necessary the more the teacher is attuned to the interactional norms of Indian society; it becomes more difficult (if more essential) as the teacher insists upon maintaining a tyrannical control over the classroom (but we shall not here discuss that configuration). Yet, even as the teacher is attuned, some function is reserved for a mediator, for the teacher tends to proceed in terms of work to be done by an abstract student, while the mediator explorers how the task can be redefined within the framework of the Cherokee student. His is a work of adaptation, and insofar as he is successful, the classroom becomes *intercultural*—a locus where persons of different cultural traditions can engage in mutually beneficial transactions without either party being affronted.

What must the teacher do to foster the emergence of the intercultural classroom within the cross-cultural situation? To begin to answer this would take an essay of length equal to the present one, but it might be helpful to quote the remarks of one teacher in the region: "I can't follow a lesson plan, and I just go along by ear. I've taught Cherokee students for six years in high school, and this is my first (year) in elementary school." Referring, then to his experience as a high school coach, he continued, "The thing you have to do, if you get a team, is that you got to get them to cooperate * * *" At first glance, this appears odd and contradictory to our earlier assertions about the spontaneous emergence of the Cherokee School Society (not to mention contradictory to the conventional notions that Indians will not compete with each other). Yet, what he is explaining is that unless the teacher chooses to recognize the social nature of the classroom and to work toward integrating his teaching with that social life, he will not be able to elicit active learning experiences from his pupils. Or, to put it negatively, that, if the teacher does not work with his Indian students as a social group, their union will be directed toward other goals. Yet the teacher can secure their response only if he "gets them" to cooperate; he cannot "make them" do so.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing report provides the basis for judgments and hypotheses on a variety of levels. On the practical level, it would seem to follow that ethnic integration is not the essential precondition for satisfactory education of groups which are low in their socioeconomic situation.[9] The Tribal Cherokee are impoverished and poorly educated, yet we would hypothesize that their educational condition will deteriorate rather than improve as consolidation progresses throughout northeastern Oklahoma. Given the ethos of the Tribal Cherokee, there would be many opportunities for assisting their children educationally which will be irremediably lost with consolidation.

On the methodological level, we are reminded of how sociologically valuable it is for researchers to focus on the frontier situations "where peoples meet."[10] The accommodations and adaptations and divisions of labor which result are an enlightening and fascinating phenomenon, which especially deserve to be studied as a corrective to those theoretical systems which regard the national society as an integrated social system.

On the substantive level, the research cautions us about the erosion suffered by our conceptual armamentarium when researchers allow the research problem to be defined by educational administrators. As a consequence, the educational situation of peoples such as the Indians tends to be conceived in terms of individual pupils and their "cultural deprivation," and the researcher is asked to assist the administration in raising these disadvantaged individuals to the point where they can compete in school in the same fashion as do the children of the middle-class. Our research report reminds investigation that such styles of conceptualization neglect the social nature of the classrooms and the social ties among the pupils; they also neglect the tension between teacher and pupils as a social group and the struggles that occur when the teacher pressures for individualistic achievement at the expense of group solidarity.[11]

Finally, on a methodological level, again, the research displays the values of ethnographic type observations of classroom activities. Basic and simple as it is, and unpretentious in the face of modern testing procedures, direct observation yet has much to teach us.[12]

REDSKINS AND REDNECKS: THE MYTH OF CHEROKEE ASSIMILATION

(By Albert Wahrhaftig and Robert K. Thomas, Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education Project)

One of the very largest and most conservative tribes of American Indians in the United States lives in Northeastern Oklahoma. Six counties in that part of the state contain approximately fifty cohesive, viable Cherokee settlements with a population of over 9,500 Indians. The distinctive features of Cherokee life are mostly covert, but one culture trait, language, is conspicuous. Fully 8,000 people, about half of them less than thirty years old, speak primarily Cherokee in their homes. Roughly 40% of the heads of Cherokee households are unable to carry on fluent conversation in English. Cherokees constitute between 7 and 23% of the county populations. In some school districts and electoral precincts as much as half the citizenry is Cherokee. The absolute Cherokee population has grown slowly over the past half century. As a result of heavy post war migration of whites to urban areas, the population ratio of Cherokees relative to whites has grown rapidly. Yet whites in eastern Oklahoma are unanimous in declaring that the Cherokees are a disappearing people. Whites insist there are few Cherokee speakers left, that the young are not learning the language, that twenty years hence the Cherokee tongue will be but a memory. Whites maintain that the Cherokee are about "bred out", that although quarterbloods and halfbreeds abound, fullblood Cherokees are rare. The most striking aspect of Cherokee-white relations is the pervasive mythology which asserts that Indians have disappeared as a people and that the scarce remnants of that former people are rapidly assimilating into the general population.

---

[9] See the discussions of "Tar Harmony Ethic" in John Gulick, *Cherokees at the Crossroads* (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, the University of North Carolina, 1960).

[10] Everett C. Hughes and Helen M. Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet: Ethnic & Racial Frontiers* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952).

[11] Such phenomena were clearly noted by Willard Waller in his *Sociology of Teaching,* first published in 1932, reprinted by Science Editions (New York: John Wiley, 1965), and it is unfortunate to see the neglect of such elementary sociological considerations in much of the more recent literature of the "sociology of education."

[12] Consider the impact and contribution of such recent books, relying either on direct observation or participation observation of classrooms, as John Holt, *How Children Fail* (New York: Delta, 1964); Harry F. Wolcott *A Kwakiutl Village and School* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967); Wax, Wax, and Dumont, *op. cit.*; Estelle Fuchs, *Pickets at the Gates* (New York: Free Press, 1966); G. Alexander Moore, *Realities of the Urban Classroom: Observations in Elementary Schools* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1967); Elizabeth M. Eddy, *Walk the White Line* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1967).

In this paper, I want to examine the function and implications of such a mythology, for while the myth of Cherokee assimilation is unique in the particular, in the general such mythology is common in the United States. Both the conservative Southern mythology which asserts that "our colored folks are a contented and carefree lot" and the liberal Northern mythology which asserts that "Negroes are just like whites except for the color of their skins" are not greatly dissimilar.

I suggest that this myth helps to keep Cherokees in their place as a docile and exploitable minority within a rigid social system. To expound this, let me first put the Cherokee in historical and social context.

In the years just before 1840, the Cherokees were forced out of their homelands in Georgia and Tennessee, marched over the famous "Trail of Tears", and settled in the new Cherokee Nation in the Indian Territory which is now the State of Oklahoma. There, they created what was then an international wonder—the Cherokee Nation with its own national Constitution, legislature, court system, school system, publishing houses, etc. Prosperous as the Cherokee Nation might have seemed, it was born and died amid internal controversy. The bitterness between the conservative Ross Party, which resisted demands for removal from the South until corraled by the US Army, and the Treaty Party, which being more enchanted with whites held that cooperation with the US Government was the more prudent course for all Cherokees, never healed. Following the Civil War, the division became insuperable. In the 1890's, while Cherokees struggled with the rift in their tribe, they were invaded by illegal white settlers infiltrating from neighboring states. The sons and daughters of the conservative Ross Party consolidated within the hollows and rough country they had always favored. There they were able to live unmolested by their opponents, and became the "fullblood" Cherokees of today. Descendants of the Treaty Party concentrated in the flat farmable bottom lands and prairies they preferred, intermarried with neighboring white intruders, finally gained control of Cherokee national affairs, and, coincident with the inclusion of Oklahoma as a State of the Union in 1907, became functionally a part of the white population of the United States.

Today, the Cherokees are to be found *in situ*, but surrounded by a now integrated population of white immigrants and ex-mixed-blood Cherokees. The roots of the modern eastern Oklahoma social system are in the rural South, both by virtue of the experiences of the old Treaty Party in Georgia and by the paths which brought whites through Arkansas from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Southern Illinois to the Cherokee Nation. Thirty years before the Cherokee Nation was dissolved, its Indian citizens were leading very different styles of life. While most members of the Fullblood faction partook of a characteristically communal life in isolated settlements, many in the Mixed-blood faction were plantation owners, merchants, entrepreneurs, and professionals and, with this, gentlemen in the Southern manner. Yet, relative to the State of Arkansas, the Cherokee Nation was empty and unexploited. From the 1890's until the 1920's, the development of this area was blindingly rapid, and no holds were barred. Simultaneously, the land was filled with subsistence farmers, small town trade boomed, commercial farming intensified, railroads were built, the timber was exhausted, petroleum was exploited, and some industrialization was established. Needless to say, the stunned fullbloods, shorn of their nation, were disadvantaged in the melee. Change was incomparably rapid. The class system was open. In Faulkner fashion, the distinguished elders of small town society today arrived as raggedy tots in the back of their parents one mule wagon. Not only was social mobility easy, few questions were put to the newly rich. Incredible land swindles (as unassailably documented by Angie Debo, the historian) were commonplace. At the turn of the century every square inch of the Cherokee Nation was allotted to Cherokee citizens; by the 1930's, only trivial acreage remained in Indian possession.

The result of this explosive development is a markedly stratified folk whites society characterized by highly personal relations, old time rural political machines, a fundamentalist Protestant ethic, reverence of free enterprise, and unscrupulous exploitation. The system is typical in the rural South, but here it came into being faster. It appears to be class-stratified, with the responsible few who with most resourcefulness marshalled the available resources at the top, and at the bottom the unworthy many who let opportunity slip by. In reality, the system consists of ranged ethnic groups; not "classes". At the top (until recently) were the successful old mixed blood families whose self-identification as "Cherokee" is taken as a claim to the status of "original settler;" at the bottom are the culturally Cherokee Indians who, as a group, were squeezed out in the shuffle.

Given this background, the origin of the myth of Cherokee assimilation is apparent. For tribal peoples, mythology is a sacred explanation of the origin of the tribe and how it comes to be as it is. Myth cannot be this among men who are aware that they created the society in which they live. For such men, myth validates the perfection of what they have created, justifying the rightness and inevitability of what was done. Tragic as was the demise of the Cherokees, the myth holds that only thus were they enabled to share in the dream of America. However the function of the myth as regards Cherokee-white relations is of greater concern.

The myth absolves whites from further concern with Indians. It implies that the job of creating Oklahoma is done, and well done at that. The Cherokee died without heirs, and rightfully all those settled on the estate share in its assets. Even as, the mythology serves to sanctify their own prosperity it insulates whites from the recognition of the Cherokee as a viable people.

Curiously, the myth is as prevalent among the Cherokee themselves. To the extent that Cherokees believe it, it is an explanation of how the people have come into the present. For half a century now, since the expiration of a nativistic movement led by Redbird Smith in response to final pressures for statehood, the Cherokee have lain inert, truly not a living people. Nevertheless, Cherokee communal life persists, and in a surprisingly healthy state. Cherokee settlements are still isolated, and while what goes on in them is not camouflaged, it is certainly calculatedly inconspicuous. For the freedom from molestation that it affords, Cherokees willingly play along with the notion that the Cherokee are no more.

For both Cherokees and whites, the mythology preserves a mutually convenient ignorance.

The economics of this area are as exploitative of people as of land and natural resources. Cherokees do the manual labor cheaply and without back talk. In 1963, Cherokee median per capita income was about $500, less than half the per capita income of neighboring whites. In a few areas Cherokees live in actual peonage. In others, straw bosses recruit Cherokee laborers for irregular work at low pay. While Cherokee communities are relatively hidden, Cherokee labor is an indispensable part of local economy. Seemingly such a large minority of Cherokees could not be linked to the social and economic system of counties with small personally known populations without exposing the myth. Rather, the myth teaches the taint from existing relationships.

Lurking within the Oklahoma conceptualization of Cherokees is an unsubtle racism. Typical is the introductory page of University of Oklahoma Professor Morris Wardell's well known ***Political History of the Cherokee Nation*** published in 1938:

"Traders, soldiers, and treaty-makers came among the Cherokees to trade, compel, and negotiate. Some of these visitors married Indian women and lived in the Indian villages the remainder of their days. Children born to such unions preferred the open and free life and here grew to manhood and womanhood, never going to the white settlements. This mixture of blood helped to produce strategy and cleverness which made formidable diplomats of many of the Indian leaders."

To white genes go the credit for Sequoyah's genius and John Ross' astuteness, while the remaining Cherokee genes contribute qualities which are endearing but less productive. Thus in a history of the Cherokees published only three years ago, the author, an Oklahoman, says of modern fullbloods:

"They supplement their small income from farms and subsidies from the government with wage work or seasonal jobs in nearby towns or on farms belonging to white men * * * Paid fair wages, this type of worker usually spends his money as quickly as he makes it on whisky, and on cars, washing machines, and other items that, uncared for, soon fall into necessitous disuse."

Oklahomans divide the contemporary Cherokees into two categories: those who are progressive and those who are not. The page I have just quoted later says, "This progressive type of Indian will not long remain in the background of the growing and thriving, and comparatively new, state of Oklahoma." That a viable Indian tribe exists is inconceivable. Cherokees as individuals are either worthy, responsible and assimilating into white society, or they are the dregs—irresponsible, deracinated, and inferior by race.

Through this mythology, the exploitation of Cherokee labor is redefined into paternalistic altruism. There are patrons who have Cherokee welfare checks delivered to them and who deduct from these what is owed them for the houses they rent and groceries they sell before then turning the remainder over to Cherokee tenants, who, unknown to the welfare department, receive wages for working the patron's land. These men see themselves as providing employment and stable management for unfortunate people who, turned loose, could never do as much for themselves. The same ethic enables whites in good conscience to direct for Cherokees such vestigal tribal affairs as remain, including the disbursement of well over $2,000,000 in funds residual from a tribal claims settlement.

Oklahoma leadership being piratical as it is, it might seem odd that some winsome grafter has not already adulterated the cement that binds these relationships. Why have not political candidates, who are often remarkably perceptive, become aware of those thousands of Cherokee voters and pitched directly to them instead of relying on the inefficient machinery of county patronage to collect Cherokee ballots? No one has yet dared, because fear is the cement that binds the system. When within the memory of older men, resistance to statehood was most desperate, the Cherokee were to be contended with. Always an ominously silent and chillingly mysterious people, unpredictable and suspect of violence, they were then organized into secret societies much akin to the committees of twenty five delegated in the old days to execute by murder the Treaty signers. The reward of office does not justify the risk of rekindling that flame. To the extent that Oklahomans are aware of the numbers of Cherokees and the force they might generate, the myth of assimilation becomes wishful thinking.

What will happen when the myth is exposed, as is inevitable, by, say, overly curious project evaluators from the Office of Economic Opportunity, is self evident. The desperation with which whites will seek to preserve their prerogatives and the determination with which Cherokees will seek to assert themselves as a people may well be violent and ugly. I fear that, but more than the dissolution of old mythologies I fear the creation of new ones.

What, for example, are we doing with our new legislation for "Appalachia" and "Ozarkia"? By implying that the poor of these rural southern areas are, as it were, a distinct namable people and by granting the power and the funds to assimilate them into our Great Society, these foreboding and violent hillbillies, are we not providing the mythology that may preserve there the relationships we find in Oklahoma? In the light of what we now know of the Cherokee Nation, I think we owe ourselves a closer look at these areas.

I will now bluntly point out only a few of the effects of the myth of Ch. assimilation.

1. It prevents Indian aspirations from being taken seriously.
2. It prevents Indians from perceiving their own potentcy as a political minority and from striking such bargains as might insure their survival as a modern ethnic community.
3. It subverts Indian social mobility. To interact with the middle class, one must acquiesce to the myth and thus think out of the Ch. community.
4. It insures, by the channeling of mobility, that the white local elite can always muster a few token Indians to fill symbolic committee seats.
5. It prevents outsiders—especially reformers, civil rights investigators, and Indian interest groups—from becoming interested in the area.

THE TRIBAL CHEROKEE POPULATION OF EASTERN OKLAHOMA: REPORT OF A DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF CHEROKEE SETTLEMENTS IN THE CHEROKEE NATION

(By Albert L. Wahrhaftig, Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago, December 1965)

I. INTRODUCTION: DEFINITION OF "CHEROKEE"

This report of the tribal Cherokee population of eastern Oklahoma is based on a detailed survey of the tribal Cherokee population of Adair, Cherokee, Delaware, Sequoyah, and Mayes counties. The data were gathered in 1963 and are augmented by the author's experience as a participant observer during two years in the Cherokee Nation.

This report treats the contemporary Cherokee as a functioning Indian society. The Cherokee Tribal Executive Committee and in some instances the Bureau of Indian Affairs are required by law to treat as Cherokee all individuals, and their descendants, whose names appear on the Cherokee tribal rolls of 1907. School officials are required to consider as Cherokee all individuals who are one-fourth or more Cherokee "by blood." For determination of federal aid to Indian students and schools with large Indian enrollment, all such individuals are legally Cherokee. But not all members of either of these populations are *socially* Cherokee. This report deals with those individuals who are Cherokee *in terms of social participation*. Such individuals live as Cherokees, in Cherokee settlements, and interact with one another as members of a Cherokee tribal community. This particular population tends to be "full-blooded" and is the social group Oklahomans generally refer to when speaking of "the full bloods" or "the full blood element." The criterion defining this population, however, is sociological, not biological. The Cherokee community as thus delimited in this report is a specific social group within a larger social context. This community does not include Cherokees who are cut off from Cherokee social life and assimilated into the general American population regardless of how full-blooded they may be. Such individuals are considered members of the larger social context. Therefore, the data presented in this report for the tribal Cherokee population represents neither the entire population of individuals who are legally Cherokee nor the entire population of individuals who are Cherokee "by blood."

Considerable material has been published on the Cherokee of Oklahoma, but virtually all publications fail to distinguish Cherokees who are socially "Cherokee" from Cherokees who are socially "white." Only two recent publications employ this distinction. Tom Hall (1934) with the assistance of an interpreter surveyed one hundred Cherokee families in Cherokee county. Although Hall never defined precisely the population he was studying, it is clear from the descriptive passages of his thesis that these were families from typical Cherokee settlements. Robert M. Cullum (1953) devised a questionnaire which was administered in 479 Cherokee households of fourteen school districts by local school teachers. Thirteen of the fourteen school districts coincided roughly with established county Cherokee settlements.

Considerable data on Indian populations can be derived from the decennial censuses of the United States. The censuses of 1930 and 1960 generally are considered to present the most reliable data on American Indians. Again, such data do not coincide exactly with the population of individuals participating in Cherokee social life. In the 1930 census individuals were returned as Indians when the *enumerator so identified them*. In the 1960 census informants identified themselves as Indian. The returns therefore all individuals *self-identified* as Indians, regardless of social participation.

II. CHEROKEE POPULATION IN 1963

Cherokees always have lived in distinct settlements of small groups of people related by kinship and participating in a common ceremonial institution. The most reliable way to determine the membership of such settlements is to place the burden of decision upon the established members of the settlements.

All Cherokee ceremonial sites (Cherokee Baptist Churches, Cherokee Methodist Churches, and Stomp Grounds) were accurately located by Cherokee informants on detailed county maps. Plotting the location of ceremonial institutions gave the locus of each Cherokee settlement. With the help of an interpreter, older, Cherokee-speaking informants were chosen in each settlement. Where possible we chose preachers, deacons, and officers of the ceremonial societies at each stomp ground. These informants were then asked to identify Cherokee households within their settlements. In this way the identification of households functioning within Cherokee settlements was left to the Cherokee informants.

The resulting number of households was multiplied by 4.9 (the average number of inhabitants in a sample of 100 Cherokee households) to estimate the total population. These figures were increased by 10% to allow for informant error and to compensate for several "eroded" areas where households are widely scattered and relatively more people are "out of sight and out of mind." Rechecks in five large, cohesive settlements indicated the allowance of 10% for undercounting was conservative. The only exceptions to this procedure were estimates based upon my knowledge of the towns of Tahlequah and Stilwell.

As seen in Table 1, nearly 9,500 Cherokee Indians live in Cherokee settlements. To Oklahomans assuming that Cherokee society is dying out, this figure will seem high. However, if anything the figure is conservative, and the number of individuals within eastern Oklahoma who function as Cherokees is yet higher.

TABLE 1.—BASE CHEROKEE POPULATION IN CHEROKEE SETTLEMENTS

County	Number of households	Estimated population
Adair	615	3,012
Cherokee	420	2,058
Delaware	375	1,838
Mayes	244	1,197
Sequoyah	243	1,191
Muskogee	40	196
Total	1,937	9,491

Comparison of these figures with the 1960 United States census reveals the discrepancy between individuals who function as members of Cherokee settlements and individuals who identify as Cherokees (Table 2).

TABLE 2.—1960 U.S. CENSUS AND SURVEY FIGURES FOR CHEROKEE POPULATION

County [1]	Survey	1960 U.S. census	Percent difference
Adair	3,012	3,055	Less than 1.
Cherokee	2,058	3,159	35.
Delaware	1,838	2,093	12.
Mayes	1,197	1,682	29.
Sequoyah	1,191	1,195	Less than 1.

[1] Census figures for Muskogee County include large numbers of Indians of other tribes.

Several observations explain the variation between the figures in Table 2. First of all, three types of people are identified in the United States census as Cherokees who are not counted in my survey of Cherokee settlements:

1. Individuals who are functional members of Cherokee society but who reside outside Cherokee settlements.
2. Individuals who were reared within Cherokee settlements, who perhaps can speak Cherokee, but who are socially isolated from Cherokee settlements and function as members of white society. Most Cherokee spouses of mixed marriages and some of their children fall into this category.
3. Individuals who are functionally white Americans, who neither participate in Cherokee society nor were reared in it, but who identify as Cherokee because of descent from families of prestige in the Cherokee Nation. This category includes some descendants of families who were marginal to the "full blood" faction of Cherokees in the 1890's as well as some families from the "mixed blood" faction.

The less than 1% difference between census and survey figures in Adair and Sequoyah counties is to be expected given the very few "mixed blood" families who now identify as Indians, and the relatively few Cherokees living in social isolation from Cherokee settlements. We know that the survey did not count Cherokees living in geographic isolation from Cherokee settlements, of which there are a few in each county, and we know that there would have been a slight growth in the Cherokee population in the five years between the census (1959) and the survey (1963–4). We surmise that these factors would just about offset one another. The correspondence between census and a survey figures in Adair and Sequoyah counties suggests both the accuracy of the survey and the variables explaining the differences in other counties. For example, in Mayes county there are many Cherokees near Adair and Strang as well as some scattered west of the Grand River who are functional members of Cherokee settlements. These populations are marginal to my survey area, and had they been included, the difference in figures for Mayes county would be only 10–15%.

Three counties have substantial populations of individuals who identify as Cherokees but are not functionally Cherokees. Cherokee county has a large concentration, especially around Tahlequah and Ft. Gibson, of "full blood" families who live as marginal participants in the "full blood" faction of the Cherokee Nation. That large numbers of these individuals still identify as Cherokees although they no longer function in Cherokee society suggests that to be able to identify as a "Cherokee" still yields prestige in this part of the country. By comparison, very few such families in Adair and Sequoyah counties so identify themselves, suggesting that there is far less prestige in being a Cherokee in the local general society of these counties. Such differences in figures reveal a status boundary between regions of the Cherokee Nation where Cherokee identification is nurtured and regions where such identification is sloughed off by participants in white society. This indirect evidence suggests that Cherokees constitute more of a caste in Adair and Sequoyah counties.

To the core Cherokee population of 9.500 can be added an estimated 10% or 900–1,000 individuals who are marginal to Cherokee settlements either geographically or socially, but who were raised within these settlements. Some of the former participate in settlement activities and reside close enough to the settlement to be considered "residents."

These figures for "residents" still do not account for the total number of Cherokees who function within contemporary Cherokee society, for we know that a considerable number of Cherokees living in such places as Muskogee, Tulsa, and Ft. Smith, are active participants in Cherokee institutions and thus are members of the Cherokee tribal community.

It is this Cherokee tribal community with which the Carnegie Project is dealing. An estimation of the total tribal population must utilize the insights into bases of social integration obtained from the survey of rural Cherokee settlements. One such insight is that the existence of a functioning ceremonial institution is a better indication of a functioning Cherokee settlement than the concentration in a given area of several Cherokee habitations. The survey revealed several places in which a church is the center of a Cherokee community, the members of which live outside the area surveyed and "commute" to services every week-end. We can generalize from the number of ceremonial institutions to population if we can estimate the number of households which a Cherokee ceremonial institution represents. To do this we can bring together several lines of evidence.

Cherokees seem to be very conservative in their settlement patterns. In the east in the 1700's there were sixty-four towns and villages with a total population of about 20,000, an average population of 300 per settlement (Gearing, 1961). From lists of the numbers of Cherokee warriors and the settlements from which they came in 1760 (see Timberlake's map of Overhill Settlements in *Old Frontiers*) we have been able to estimate the approximate population represented by that quantity of warriors and find an average population of 200 per settlement. Probably 200 is a good ***minimal*** estimate for the population of a typical Cherokee settlement. In the 1930's Gilbert estimated the population of Big Cove, North Carolina, at about 300 individuals living in 35 households (Gilbert 1943).

Given the average population of households in this survey (4.9), a population of 200 would be represented by about 41 households. Cherokee settlements in Adair county seem to be more stable than elsewhere. The average number of households per Cherokee Baptist settlement in the larger, stable settlements in Adair county is 34. It is likely, then, that each Cherokee church represents a functional population of about 165 Cherokees. From estimates of memberships of existing Nighthawk societies—the Keetoowah, Four Mothers, and Seven Clans societies—each stomp ground seems to represent about 50 households or about 300 persons. From this we can estimate the population that Cherokee ceremonial institutions are geared to serve (Table 3).

TABLE 3.—CHEROKEE POPULATION ESTIMATED FROM CEREMONIAL INSTITUTIONS

Number and type of ceremonial institution	Estimated number of related households	Estimated population
42 churches in Cherokee Indian Baptist Association	34 per church	6,997
9 Cherokee Methodist churches	do	1,500
5 Cherokee-Creek Baptist churches	do	833
3 other Cherokee churches	do	600
6 stomp grounds	50 per stomp ground	1,764
Total		11,694

It would appear that Cherokee institutions are geared to accommodate some 11,000 to 12,000 members. On the one hand it can be argued that a society need not run at full capacity, and that no allowance has been made for churches which are failing for lack of membership; on the other hand, the figures assigned for the population of Cherokee settlements are very low. Even granting the possibility that Cherokee settlements are declining in size through time, the estimate of 165 per settlement is substantially below the lowest estimate made for Cherokee settlements in the past. Therefore, 11,000 to 11,500 is a reasonable estimate of the functional population of northeastern Oklahoma Cherokee society. This indicates roughly the extent to which Cherokees outside the area surveyed participate in Cherokee society.

In summary, we arrive at these basic estimates of Cherokee population:

Estimated functional population:
- Functional Cherokee population in Cherokee settlements, 9,500.
- Functional Cherokee population participating in local Cherokee society, regardless of location of residence, 11,500.

Estimated aggregrate of individuals reared as Cherokees:
- Reared in Cherokee settlements and resident in Cherokee Nation, 10,500.
- Reared in Cherokee settlements but not necessarily participants in Cherokee society, regardless of residence, 16,000 or more.

III. CHEROKEE POPULATION IN DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

The Cherokees, concentrated within the bounds of the arc of the Grand River and the Oklahoma-Arkansas border, constitute a large component of the population of northeastern Oklahoma. Where once all of this territory and more was the Cherokee Nation, and *all* its legal inhabitants were Cherokee citizens, the Cherokees now form a large but inconspicuous minority within the region.

While unique in having been part of Indian Territory, this region now is not markedly from other "back woods" regions of the United States. Upon removal to Oklahoma, the Cherokees rapidly settled in locales of their own choosing within the territory. Thereafter, until the beginning of World War II, increasing numbers of whites filled in the areas surrounding the "hollows" inhabited by Cherokees, forming communities and rural trade centers of their own. The population of the Ozark highland counties reached a peak in the late 1930's, but since then has dropped markedly and steadily. The Cherokees have been profoundly affected by these changes in the white population surrounding them (Table 4).

TABLE 4.—NORTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA POPULATION AND POPULATION CHANGE: 1940-60

County	Population			Percentage of change in population		
	1940	1950	1960	Rural, 1950–60	Total, 1950–60	Total, 1940–60
Adair	15,755	14,918	13,112	−12.1	−12.1	−17
Cherokee	21,030	18,989	17,762	−16.3	−6.5	−16
Delaware	18,592	14,734	13,198	−10.4	−10.4	−29
Mayes	21,668	19,743	20,073	−10.9	+1.7	−7
Sequoyah	23,138	19,773	18,001	−13.3	−9.0	−22

By contrast with a rapidly growing national population, Table 4 reveals that population has declined in these counties of northeastern Oklahoma during the last twenty years. Rural population loss has been especially great. The growth of such towns as Tahlequah in Cherokee county, Pryor in Mayes county, and Sallisaw in Sequoyah county disguises the loss of rural base population which averages about 20% for the region as a whole. The loss of rural population in some townships from 1940 to 1960 is staggering, exceeding 40% in Chance and Christie townships of Adair county, and 50% in Long and McKey townships of Sequoyah county. These figures represent loss of absolute population only. The natural increase which emigrants would have contributed to the local population is also lost.

Only two cities within this region have grown notably: Tahlequah's population increased 94%, from 3027 in 1940 to 5840 in 1960. The combined population of Tahlequah and two townships from which Tahlequah made annexations grew 33% in the same period. Sallisaw increased 36% from 2140 to 3351, again partly by annexation, and the combined population of Sallisaw and Sallisaw township grew 40%.

In the counties with the largest Cherokee populations, the major towns have barely held their own. Stilwell in Adair county increased 9.5% from 1717 to 1916, less than would be expected through natural increase. Jay in Delaware county grew 34% from 741 to 1120, but this was partly through annexation.

With a summary observation that the Cherokees constitute a fairly stable, isolated, rural population in this area, the demographic and social changes in the white population are as follows:

(1) A viable agricultural society lying at the Cherokee doorstep has disappeared in the space of a generation. This has meant that a countryside full of folk whites with neighborly, personal relations is evaporating. As the country depopulates, white communities are breaking up and market centers are disappearing. In the few surviving trade centers and country white institutions such as square dances, turkey shoots, and hunting associations, as well as in some agricultural tasks, Cherokees still participate with whites on equal footing in a common and mutually understandable society. For the most part, however, the ebb of white population has left the Cherokees geographically and socially isolated.

(2) The decline of country white population has not left a surplus of land available for Cherokee expansion. On the contrary, departing whites are selling out to ranchers with sufficient capital to consolidate "spreads." For example, in Adair county Texas ranchers gradually are buying tracts of land, in some instances as large as 10,000 acres. The government also has bought land for numerous lakes, game preserves, flood control, and recreation grounds.

(3) The shift in population presumably reflects more the movement of marginal farmers, but there also has been some emigration of the country well-to-do. We are in need of a study to document the extent of this latter migration, but it seems reasonable to suppose that much of the country aristocracy has moved to town. The countryside is now visibly more homogeneous. Places such as Moodys and Wauhillau in Cherokee county were once relatively large settlements of farmer-tradesmen, perhaps people resembling the old stereotype of the southern white squire, living on the periphery of Cherokee and white settlements. Now these places are largely deserted as the better business opportunities in towns attract the more affluent farm families. Many town proprietors seem to stem from the "better class" of farm family.

Counter to the exodus of the country squire, there is a movement of the newly rich into the countryside. Tahlequah, Stilwell, and similar towns are developing suburbs which extend far into the country. These are populated in part by whites native to the area who migrated elsewhere, "made good" and returned to the country to retire, and in part by newcomers, mostly from urban centers of Oklahoma and Texas who have been attracted by the beauty of the Ozarks. Urban middle class people moving into the country tend to redefine the class status of reputable country families who formerly were the country elite.

To Cherokees, the prestigeful whites in the country are no longer the familiar type of people who "grew from the soil." Comparison of the annual Redbird Smith stomp ground celebrations in the 1920's with games, races, and dinner on the ground, with the traditional festivities of wealthy country whites, and consideration of the style of life evidenced in old family photographs owned by many Cherokee families, suggest that there was then much interaction and modeling between prestigeful whites and prestigeful Cherokees. As the country aristocracy is replaced by immigrants from another social world, Cherokees are being cut off from this type of experience, too.

(4) The surviving white rural population is a revolving population. Again, we lack good data on country whites, but it is clear that the major commodity exported by northeastern Oklahoma in manpower. White families assume that some or all of their children will have to live far from home in order to "make good." This acceptance among whites of the necessity of leaving home is now part of the Cherokee environment. Unskilled Ozark whites now receive training and employment in different parts of the United States. As a result, another kind of white model, the skilled laborer, is removed from the Cherokee environment. In the Ozark subsistance economy there was considerable technological sharing between whites and Cherokees. Cherokees were mentors of whites in such matters as hunting and fishing, and perhaps the handling of stock, but as many of the pictures of early farm machinery show mixed work crews of Cherokees and whites one gets the impression of mutual technological advance. To the extent that the white labor force has moved out of the region, new knowledge of how to deal with urban society has little chance of being transmitted back to white families, much less beyond them into the surrounding Cherokee community.

(5) Not only is country white society becoming impotent and interacting less with Cherokee settlements, but the regnant and growing sectors of Oklahoma society are becoming both geographically and socially more distant. The "lights of the city" in Stilwell and Jay are dim in comparison to those in Tahlequah, Muskogee, Ft. Smith, Arkansas, and Tulsa. Not only for employment, but also for shopping, northeastern Oklahomas are relying increasingly upon growing urban centers. Cherokees, too, must use these cities to obtain some necessary goods and services, but as such centers become larger and more complex, Cherokee utilization of them lags and becomes more differential. If one watches the pattern of Cherokee use of smaller towns, such as Vian or Sallisaw, within the arc of Cherokee settlement, one can see that the level of Cherokee and white trade and sophistication is equal. But in more populous centers such as Tahlequah, the populations are becoming segregated in this respect; some establishments deliberately cater to Cherokee and country white trade while others "modernize" and forge on to capture the trade of the growing middle class. This is another indication of the local redefinition of the class structure.

(6) Cherokee society is becoming increasingly more visible as the former white rural population is replaced by urban middle class whites with a more conspicuously different style of living. Although boundaries of Cherokee settlement intergrade with white settlement, and Oklahomans become confused about who is or is not a Cherokee (of Cherokee descent), the distinction between who is living as an Indian and who is not is becoming increasingly evident. Probably only the peculiar self-involvement of Oklahomans with Cherokee prestige keeps the distinction from being hammered home more strongly. Cherokees in the past few decades have been relatively isolated within the general American society and inconspicuous as *an ethnic group*. Now they appear destined to be not only isolated but also highly visible in terms of distinctive social characteristics.

(7) The flow of people and goods through this portion of Oklahoma has also changed correspondingly. At the turn of the century the Cherokee Nation was unified by internal commerce with major ports at Ft. Smith and other points along the Arkansas River. By the depression years the network of roads linked local communities to county seats and market centers. Now the major roads reflect a new emphasis. First, there is accommodation to traffic moving through the country to and from points outside of it, as from Tulsa to Ft. Smith or Tulsa to Siloam Springs and beyond. Second, there is accommodation to traffic moving from minor centers within the region to major ones, as for example, from Locust Grove and Jay to Tahlequah *via* newly paved roads. Third, there is accommodation to the circulation of tourists to recreation facilities. The roads in the first two categories skirt the hills and hollows most inhabited by Cherokees, and roads of the third type are directed toward man-made lakes and other public lands; hence traffic effectively circumvents the areas most heavily settled by Cherokees. Few Oklahomans or others travelling through the country are likely to drive through the larger Cherokee settlements.

It is true that one major theme in the history of the tribal Cherokees since statehood has been withdrawal from whites. Accompanying this have been basic changes in Oklahoma society which either physically isolate whites from Cherokees or socially separate the two societies.

IV. THE DYNAMICS OF CHEROKEE POPULATION

The Cherokee population has grown slightly since the turn of the century. On the basis of the Cherokee tribal rolls of 1907 and a general knowledge of the composition of Cherokee society at that time, an estimate of 8,000 functioning members of conservative Cherokee society seems reasonable. No matter which of the estimates of Cherokee population calculated from this survey is employed, it is clear that there has been a small *absolute* increase in Cherokee population.

In the face of Oklahoma's population decline, this mean that the population of Cherokees relative to whites is increasing rapidly. Relative growth of the Cherokee population is shown in Table 5. The use of the 1964 survey figures for Cherokee population in determining percentages unavoidably de-emphasizes the rate of growth.

TABLE 5.—CHEROKEE POPULATION RELATIVE TO WHITE POPULATION

County	Percent Cherokee in 1940	Percent Cherokee in 1960
Adair	19	23.0
Cherokee	10	13.0
Delaware	10	14.0
Sequoyah	5	6.5

Cherokees constitute a sizeable minority in several counties of northeastern Oklahoma. For example, almost one-fourth of the children in the Adair county school system come from Cherokee-speaking homes. Since the Cherokee population is not evenly distributed throughout these counties, the proportion of Cherokees in some school districts or election precincts is often considerably higher. Table 6 lists the proportions of Cherokees in a sample of townships in which the boundaries of Cherokee settlements roughly coincide with the boundaries of townships. Again, the proportions are de-emphasized since we are forced to compare 1940 and 1960 census figures with the presumably higher 1964 figures for Cherokee population.

These figures do not reflect the concentration of Cherokees within the boundaries of the actual Cherokee settlements; nor do they reflect the concentration of Cherokees in meaningful administrative units such as school districts where concentration would be higher or lower depending on the correspondence of school district boundaries with the boundaries of Cherokee settlements. The figures approximate the population composition of the large arbitrary territories which include Cherokee settlements. Saline township, for instance, is simply the southwest sixth of Delaware county. Without as yet discussing Cherokee settlement patterns, a comparison of the difference between county and township population figures (see Table 4) indicates that the Cherokee population is concentrated geographically within certain portions of these counties. It should also be said that there are virtually no Cherokee settlements not interspersed with varying numbers of white households. The salient point is that, even by these minimal estimates, there are large portions of northeastern Oklahoma where functional members of Cherokee settlements constitute substantially over one-third of the total population.

In summary, the contemporary Cherokee population is large, has grown slowly in absolute numbers over the last half century, and relative to white population has been growing rapidly over the last quarter century.

TABLE 6.—CHEROKEE "CORE" POPULATION RELATIVE TO WHITE POPULATION IN SELECTED TOWNSHIPS

County and township	Total population		Cherokee population		
	1940	1960	1964	Percent in 1940	Percent in 1960
Cherokee: Briggs	1,164	782	272	23	35
Cherokee: Hulbert	2,951	1,601	442	15	28
Adair: Bunch plus Lees Creek	3,316	3,298	1,162	34	35
Sequoyah: Marble plus Marble City	1,059	952	300	28	32
Sequoyah: Long	1,667	817	234	14	28
Delaware: Saline	2,977	2,315	876	29	38

Most Oklahomans claim that Cherokees are disappearing, that they rapidly are losing their language, and that through intermarriage the Cherokees are "breeding out." If the Cherokee population is growing, why is it that Oklahomans are so convinced that Cherokees are dying out? While most Cherokee settlements are Cherokee-speaking and the rate of intermarriage of individuals raised in Cherokee communities is low, some Cherokee settlements do break up. Individuals from these disintegrated settlements tend to assimilate into the general population more often than they tend to move into other Cherokee settlements. Consequently, there are always a fair number of individuals merging with the general population, and in view of the isolation of most Cherokee settlements, these "assimilating" Cherokees are more visible socially than are members of cohesive settlements. Oklahomans meet "full bloods" who are the products of the erosion of some settlements and take these individuals to be representative of the group. What they fail to see is that the Cherokee birth rate is very high and individuals are "replaced" faster than they are "lost." In addition, they are not aware of the number of stable settlements and of new settlements which are emerging and becoming cohesive social units. Whole settlements can be "lost" and "replaced" just as can individuals. Table 7 gives the present distribution of Cherokee settlements in terms of social cohesion.

TABLE 7.—CHEROKEE SETTLEMENT TYPES

County	Stable settlements (48)	Emerging settlements (10)	Eroding settlements (14)
Adair	Bell	Stilwell	Christie.
	Bunch		Honey Hill.
	Cherry Tree		Proctor.
	Chewoy		
Adair	Echota		
	Fairfield		
	Greasy Creek		
	Greasy Creek, South		
	Lyons Switch		
	Mulberry Hollow		
	Oak Ridge		
	Old Green		
	Peavine		
	Salem		
	Wauhillau		
Cherokee	Barber	Hulbert	Johnson's Prairie.
	Briggs	Tahlequah	Moody's.
	Cookson	Red Oak	Qualls-Burnt Cabin.
	Elm Tree		
	Fourteen Mile Creek		
	New Greenleaf-Park Hill		
	Rocky Ford		
	Spring Creek		
	Sugar Mountain		
	Welling-Barren Fork		
Sequoyah	Bellefont	None	Price's Chapel.
	Blackgum Mountain-Vian		
	Marble City		
	McKey		
	Nicut		
	Notchietown		
	Sourjohn		
	Vian Creek-Evening Shade		
Delaware	Brush Creek	Jay	Grove.
	Bull Hollow	Leach	Honey Creek.
	Drowning Creek	Little Kansas	
	Cloud Creek	Rose	
	Eucha		
	Kenwood		
	Oaks		
	Twin Oaks		
	Piney		
Mayes	Ballou	Locust Grove	None.
	New Jordan	Salina-Pryor	
	Little Rock		
	Ribbon		
	Snake Creek		
	Spavinaw		
Muskogee			Fort Gibson.
	None	None	Braggs.
			Warner.
			Oak Grove.
			Briartown.

In addition to the settlements listed as "eroding," several others have completely disappeared in the last thirty years through the creation of lakes in the drainages in which these settlements were located. In the 1940's Cherokee settlements along Greenleaf and Drowning creeks were covered by Lake Greenleaf and the Lake of the Cherokees. In addition, the Cherokee community at Braggs was dislodged by Camp Gruber. In the 1950's a large Cherokee community at Yonkers was covered by the Fort Gibson Reservoir, Lake Tenkiller covered a Cherokee settlement at Linder Bend and another along the Illinois River bottom, and Lake Eucha covered a Cherokee community at Eucha. During these same decades, Cherokee settlements at Proctor, Briartown, Moodys, Johnson Prairie, and near Row and Colcord broke up. All except the first of these were settlements located on or near flat, farmable terrain rather than in steep hollows, and were therefore in more intimate contact with white farm population.

The population of any tribe fluctuates over time. It is perhaps too soon to determine whether the disintegration of a few more Cherokee settlements than have emerged in recent years indicates any significant change in the state of the tribe. From this discussion of Cheroke settlements, several generalizations follow:

(1) There has been an absolute increase in Cherokee population in spite of the disintegration of several Cherokee settlements and the assimilation of members of these settlements into the general population. Fifty years ago, there were Cherokee settlments on the flat Arkansas River bottomlands of Sequoyah and Muskogee counties and on small prairies in Adair, Cherokee, and Delaware counties. At present, all of the Cherokee settlements on flat lands have disintegrated and eroded. The more characteristic Cherokee settlements in deep hollows have been far more resistant. These latter setttlements have remained at least stable in population. Many of them, especially those in southern Adair county, have grown and have become more cohesive. These settlements have tended also to be socially more conservative. It appears that the erosion of Cherokee settlements has slowed and that the existing Cherokee settlements will persist barring drastic changes in the surrounding environment. Given the Cherokees' high birth rate and the decreasing death rate now expected in such underdeveloped areas, a rapid increase in the population of Cherokee settlements is predicted. With no offsetting losses due to community disintegration, the growth of the Cherokee population in this part of Oklahoma is likely to increase sharply, both absolutely and relatively. Inasmuch as this population growth will occur largely in settlements which traditionally have been "conservative," the Cherokee population will become relatively more "conservative" in its overall composition.

(2) That flat land settlements have disintegrated while settlements in hollows have survived is a clue to the conditions under which Cherokee settlements are viable. In the flat lands, white farmers bought tracts of land in the midst of the Cherokee settlements. As a result of this interpretation of whites, Cherokee households were dispersed relative to one another. Such Cherokee settlements disintegrated through intermarriage and migration within a generation or two rather than through "acculturation" over a long period. This suggests that constant person-to-person interaction among Cherokees is necessary for settlement cohesiveness and that Cherokees have developed little resistance to constant person-to-person interaction with white neighbors. It is, at present, social isolation rather than ideology that keeps the Cherokee intermarriage rate low.

(3) As the flow of socially visible "full bloods" from eroded Cherokee settlements into the general society slackens, there will be proportionately few "full bloods" functioning successfully in the general society. At present virtually any local Oklahoma white man, given a fitting conversational context, will comment on "full bloods" he knows who occupy positions of acceptable status in the general society. Oklahomans assume from such individuals that the Cherokees as a whole are "progressing." If such individuals dwindle in number, the assumptions of Cherokee "progress" might be questioned. The result is likely to be a sudden massive effort to "assimilate" country Cherokee settlements.

V. CHEROKEE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH RATE

Barring major changes in social conditions, it is safe to predict that the Cherokee population will increase much more rapidly in the future as the disintegration of marginal settlements diminishes. It is also likely that internal factors will combine with this to cause a Cherokee population explosion. American Indians as a whole are the fastest growing population group in the United States (Hadley 1957). Table 8 combines survey data on the age distribution of Cherokees in 100 households with information from earlier sources to show relative Cherokee population distribution over time.

TABLE 8.—COMPARATIVE AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF CHEROKEES AND WHITES

Year	Population	Age group (percent)			
		0 to 19	20 to 39	40 to 59	60+
1930	Cherokees [1]	46.9	34.2	17.5	1.5
1930	American Indians [2]	50.9	27.9	15.6	5.3
1930	American whites [2]	43.8	30.7	18.0	6.0
1950	Cherokees [3]	53.8	22.1	17.3	6.8
1950	Oklahoma rural farm [4]	43.0	23.4	22.8	10.9
1960	Cherokees [5]	51.5	21.2	17.6	10.0
1960	Oklahoma rural farm [6]	39.3	20.8	24.0	15.7
1960	Oklahoma State [6]	36.7	29.8	22.1	12.5

Sources: [1] Hall, 1933; [2] Bureau of the Census, 1930; [3] Cullum, 1953; [4] U.S. Census, 1950; [5] Survey, 1964; [6] U.S. Census, 1960.

It is apparent from the differences over the years between the Cherokees and whites that the Cherokee birth and death rates are relatively much higher. The Cherokee figures for 1960 and 1950 are virtually identical, suggesting considerable stability in population distribution of recent years. Compared with the figures for 1930, they suggest that either the Cherokee birth rate is going up or infant mortality is decreasing. Probably both are happening. The figures also suggest that between 1930 and 1950 the Cherokee population became "younger."[1] In short, the characteristics of the Cherokee population are the characteristics of the populations of many so-called underdeveloped countries. The experience of such countries in recent times has been that modern medical technology and treatment reduce infant mortality rates drastically and adult mortality rates to some extent while the birth rate remains high. The consequence is a "population explosion."

The figures on Cherokee population distribution in 1952 and 1963 are virtually identical even when calculated by five year age intervals. This suggests that the impact of modern medical treatment has not been felt by Cherokees and that they have yet to experience population explosion. Such an increase in population will be in addition to the rate of increase the Cherokee population has experienced over the last fifty years.

We have estimated that the Cherokees participating in conservative Cherokee society in 1902 totalled about 8,000. Extrapolating from available figures the rate of growth expectable from this base population, there should now be 15,000 to 16,000 descendents of the Cherokee population of 1902. Speaking only of the Cherokee population resident in present Cherokee settlements, it would appear that the rate of assimilation of Cherokees into the general society has been roughly three-fourths of the rate of natural increase. However, roughly one-third of the individuals thus lost lived in settlements which have disintegrated. Discounting these, the rate of assimilation out of stable Cherokee settlements is only about 40% of the rate of population increase. If present conditions prevail in the future, Cherokee settlements should retain at least 50% of their natural increase. Many external factors, for example the Bureau of Indian Affairs' relocation program and the "War on Poverty," would affect this situation, and their influence is imponderable. As regards demographic factors, however, there seems to be only one imponderable. Many of the emerging Cherokee settlements are on the fringes of urban areas. There is, for example, in addition to the old Cherokee settlement around Elm Tree church in Tahlequah, an emerging Cherokee settlement at Red Oak on the eastern edge of the city, and a distinct dispersed settlement emerging in the center of town. We do not know yet much about population growth and loss of Cherokee settlements in urban areas. In Tahlequah the boundaries between Cherokees and whites seem to be growing more distinct, the status ascribed to Cherokees in the town population seems to be getting lower, and the settlements show some signs of increasing cohesion. These factors certainly would tend to reduce the rate of intermarriage. Their effect on migration is unpredictable.

---

[1] Cullum commented that "this concentration in the younger ages appears to be typical of Indian population. Explanation is not provided in the information secured by this study, although negatively, the small numbers of adults who have left the districts would appear to eliminate resettlement as a major factor . . . It might be speculated that high mortality rates, as shown by State health statistics, may provide a partial reason for this variation" (1952, p. 6). My survey shows an equivalent population distribution and an equivalent lack of resettlement.

The probabilities are that the Cherokee population not only will grow rapidly in the future, but also that more of the growing population will be retained in local Cherokee settlements in esatern Oklahoma.

VI. SUMMARY

There are now about 9,500 Cherokees residing and participating in Cherokee settlements in eastern Oklahoma and at least 11,500 Cherokees residing either in Cherokee settlements or within commuting distance of such settlements. These estimates were made from a house by house count within Cherokee communities and by using general knowledge of Cherokee social structure to extrapolate from the survey data.

The Cherokee reside in a region of Oklahoma in which rapid changes of population and social structure are occurring. The white population is becoming thinner, more urban, and more separated from country Cherokee settlements.

Cherokee population is increasing absolutely while white population is decreasing, resulting in rapid Cherokee increase relative to white population. Cherokee population growth has been checked by the disintegration of some Cherokee settlements and by high mortality rates. The remaining settlements are more resistant and it is not likely that they will disintegrate. Moreover, new Cherokee settlements are evolving. Medical technology is likely to produce in the near future rapid population growth within these established and emerging Cherokee settlements.

References Cited

Cullum, Robert M., 1953: *The Rural Cherokee Household: A Study of 479 Households within Fourteen School District Situated in the Old Cherokee Nation.* Muskogee Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Oklahoma (mimeo).

Gearing, Fred O., 1961: *Priests and Warriors.* American Anthropological Association, Memoir #93 (Vol. 64, No. 5, part 2).

Gilbert, William Harlen, Jr., 1943: *The Eastern Cherokees.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin #133.

Hadley, J. Nixon, 1957: "The Demography of the American Indians." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 311.

Hall, Tom Aldis, 1934: *The Socio-Economic Status of the Cherokee Indians.* Unpublished M.A. thesis. University of Oklahoma.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census:
  1960: *Seventeenth Census of the United States*
  1937: *The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska*

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHEROKEE POPULATION OF EASTERN OKLAHOMA: REPORT OF A SURVEY OF FOUR CHEROKEE SETTLEMENTS IN THE CHEROKEE NATION

(By Alfred L. Wahrhftig, Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education Project, of the University of Chicago, December 1965)

INTRODUCTION

This report presents basic information on socio-economic conditions of country Cherokee settlements in northeastern Oklahoma. The data summarized were obtained by administering a questionnaire to a sample of households in four Cherokee settlements. The data were gathered during the last half of 1964 and the first three months of 1965.

The main purposes of the survey were: (1) to provide "baseline" information against which the effects of the Carnegie Cross-Cultural Project could be appraised by duplicating the survey in 1966 or 1967 and (2) to provide Cherokees and other interested Oklahomans with accurate, current information. However, the survey performed other services as well. One was the eductaion of Carnegie Project personnel through continual discussion of survey procedures, problems, and results. A second was the opportunity provided to make general observations of Cherokee settlements. Some of these have been reported (Wahrhaftig 1965a and 1965b), and others will be published soon. A third was the opportunity for Cherokees to participate in scientific research. As an interpreter and intermediary, Finis Smith received training in the techniques of sociological enquiry and analysis. Hiner Doublehead, G. J. Smith, and Wesley Proctor also assisted me, and I trust they learned as much as I did through our interaction in conducting and reporting the survey. Furthermore, the results of this study and of the survey of Cherokee population (Wahrhaftig, 1965c) are now being printed in a serialized, bilingual version in the monthly *Cherokee Newsletter*. The Cherokee tribe will have followed this survey from interview beginnings to printed end results *before* even social scientists see the results in print. This survey, then, not only has yielded the data reported below, but also has contributed to the general sophistication and self-awareness of the Cherokee tribe. As evidence of this I am pleased to report that Cherokees in the community of Hulbert on their own initiative are conducting a local economic survey as their part of the War on Poverty research.

THE SAMPLE

The communities surveyed were chosen after an earlier survey of Cherokee population and demography (Wahrhaftig 1965c) was completed. The population survey provided an overview of settlements in the Cherokee Nation and distinct impressions of community differences. Awareness of such differences facilitated selection of a representative sample of settlements on the basis of the following variables or axes:

(1) Size—small or large.
(2) Cohesiveness—cohesive or fragmented.
(3) Degree of geographical isolation.
(4) Ceremonial affiliation—Cherokee Baptist or "Nighthawk."
(5) Demarcation of settlement boundary—precise or vague.
(6) Reputation (among other Cherokees)—conservative or nonconservative.

This is not an exhaustive list of the variables considered, but since one characteristic is often related to another, these incorporate the most significant factors guiding the initial selection of settlements to be surveyed.

As of March 1964, we had seleced the following six Cherokee settlements and the rural white settlement of Bunch for comparison:

Bull Hollow: large, cohesive, isolated, ex-Nighthawk Baptists, vaguely bounded, conservative.

Marble City: moderately large, moderately cohesive, moderately isolated, vaguely bounded, Nighthawk, moderately conservative.

Jay: moderately large, fragmented, non-isolated (an urban population), vaguely bounded, Baptist, non-conservative.

Bell: moderately large, cohesive, isolated, Baptist, precisely bounded, conservative.

Hulbert: large, fragmented, non-isolated, ex-Nighthawk Baptists, vaguely bounded, non-conservative.

Cherry Tree: of medium size, moderately cohesive, moderately isolated, Baptist, precisely bounded, non-conservative.

Some settlements proved to be so vaguely bounded that it would have been impossible to delimit them geographically without being quite arbitrary. Since the surveys developed into miniature community studies, consuming more time than planned, the survey finally was reduced to four settlements. A description of these four settlements follows.

Hulbert: Hulbert is the largest Cherokee settlement, with ninety households. There are four Cherokee ceremonial institutions in and around Hulbert: New Hope, Keehner, and Swimmer Cherokee Baptist Churches, and Hulbert Cherokee Methodist Church. Hulbert is an aggregate of settlements in the process of fission or fusion, or possibly both. The survey in Hulbert concentrated on resident families affiliated with New Hope Baptist Church on the assumption that the church community represented an extended family. When it was found that the church membership did not include all of the extended family, the survey was extended to include a few other related households affiliated with other local Cherokee churches. We have no reason to suppose that the sample is not representative of Hulbert as a whole.

Cherry Tree: Cherry Tree is composed of one group of related families who are rather generalized Cherokees (many adults were educated in boarding school and are less tribal in their self-conception) and a second block of related families who are far more tribal and closely associated with the conservative families at Bell and Salem. The former households tend to be located on the west side of Highway 59, while the latter intergrade with the settlement of Salem east of the highway. The Cherry Tree survey was confined to the more generalized segment, as it is this group of related families which gives the settlements its particular tone and about which we wanted to know more.

Marble City: They survey covered a cluster of households between the south boundary of Bunch and the north edge of the town of Marble City.

Bull Hollow: The survey covered a cluster of households within approximately a two mile raidus of the Bull Hollow Community Building.

ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING THE SURVEY

Postulating that the major variables in Cherokee social and economic organization would vary along a sort of folk-urban continuum, we assumed that the more isolated communities with a reputation for conservatism would be characterized by lower levels of education, lower incomes, more subsistence farming, etc. In terms of such variables the settlements finally selected represented "type settlements" along such a continuum. We could then categorize settlements within the Cherokee Nation in terms of the following types:

- Bull Hollow Type: very closed, very cohesive settlements where members are extremely tribal in self-conception and are thought to be "real Cherokees" by other Cherokees.
- Marble City Type: less strongly closed, but very cohesive settlements, in which inhabitants are tribal in self-conception but interact somewhat more freely with whites and do not have a reputation for extreme conservatism.
- Intermediate type:
  - Cherry Tree Type: still less strongly closed and less obviously cohesive; inhabitants are more generalized in self-conception, seemingly more acculturated, and more integrated within the general society.
  - Hulbert Type: relatively open and lacking cohesion; more individuated, more freedom of interaction with whites, and the most fully integrated within the general society.

Tabel A shows the categorization of Cherokee settlements by type, and Table B shows the percentage of Cherokee population represented by each type. It is noteworthy that both settlements and population are rather equally distributed among the four major types representing stages along the hypothesized folk-urban continuum.

Table A.—*Community populations by type (number households plus 10 percent error)*

Bull Hollow type:	
Salem	23
Bell	31
Oak Ridge	13
Echota	53
Eucha	32
Kenwood	55
Wycliffe	36
Bull Hollow	30
Marble City type:	
Spavinaw	5
Rock Fence	5
Notchietown	14
Nicut	30
McKey-Evening Shade	13
Chewey	42
Mulberry Hollow	35
Old Green	33
Barber	43
Wauhillau	22
Welling	7
Sugar Mountain	12
Piney	35
Cloud Creek	15
New Jordan	37
Salina	28
Marble-Vian Creek	65
Bellefont	21
Gore	4
Intermediate type I:	
Lyons	50
Bunch-Malloy Hollow	31
Park Hill	6
Ballou	69
Honey Hill-Elm Grove	19
Cherry Tree type:	
Brush Creek	5
Cherry Tree	46
Sourjohn	16
Greasy Creek (No. & So.)	41
Peavine-Fairfield	30
Briggs	58
Blackgum	37
New Greenleaf	12
Rocky Ford	27
Drowning Creek	47
Cherry Tree type—Continued	
Ribbon	14
Vian	17
Little Rock	34
Antioch	44
Zion	6
Oak Grove	28
Honey Creek	3
Intermediate type II:	
Twin Oaks	43
Oaks	11
Leach-Elm Prairie	30
Little Kansas	22
Westville	13
Hulbert type:	
Hulbert	90
Locust Grove	10
Moodys	18
Johnson Prairie	8
Christie	1
Tahlequah	100
Jay	41
Grove	3
Stilwell	50
Proctor	3
Tyner Creek	4
Qualls	13
Remnants of fully eroded communities:	
Ballard	1
Watts	4
Gans	3
Muldrow	9
Stoney Point	3
Braggs	2
Briartown	2
Porum	4
Webber Falls	2
Disney	3
Langley	6
Miscellaneous:	
Adair County	7
Cherokee County	2
Sequoyah County	3
Mayes County	2
Delaware County	1

Table B.—*Cherokee population by community type*

	Percent
Bull Hollow type	14
Marble City type	25
Intermediate type I	9
Cherry Tree type	25
Intermediate type II	6
Hulbert type	18
Remnants of eroded settlements	2
Miscellaneous	1

MAJOR INSIGHTS DERIVED FROM THE SURVEY

Many of the characteristics surveyed vary little among the settlements and do not correlate with degree of settlement isolation. For example, there is relatively little variation in income occupation, or educational level. Uniformity in these respects indicates that Cherokees as a whole occupy a common socio-economic position within eastern Oklahoma society. These observations suggest that Cherokees are becoming uniformly proletarian. In general, the differences among

Cherokee settlements which seemed so significant at first glance seemed less and less important with the accumulation of more information. Other characteristics varied, but unpredictably, and not along a folk-urban continuum. For example, there is great variation in household composition and in the percentage of people who speak Cherokee. The major insight derived from the survey is that the dynamics of Cherokee settlements are more complex than we had supposed. Families as "closed" and tribal as those characteristic of Bull Hollow can be found in any Cherokee settlement. The number of non-English-speaking individuals in Hulbert, which at first seemed to be a very acculturated settlement, is high. This seems paradoxical. What has happened to Cherokee settlements is this: some have remained as viable but conservative little communities, some have become settlements of more generalized and more "acculturated" Indians; others have become simply more fragmented and less cohesive. Fragmented settlements combine an aggregate of households and fragments of kin groups which are cut off from one another; some are participating members of highly conservative settlements elsewhere, while others are more oriented toward white society and appear to be assimilating. The differences in settlements and the differences in the processes whereby they are changing (i.e., fragmentation as opposed to generalization) result from long histories of differing relationships and experiences within these communities. Variations in geographical and social isolation, sophistication of individuals at particular periods in settlement history, awareness of events in the wider society and their implications for Cherokees, and particular catastrophes (such as settlement relocation to make way for a dam) are the major factors contributing to contemporary differences in Cherokee settelments. We hope to elaborate upon these findings in future papers.

LANGUAGE

The Cherokee language

At present, Cherokee is the language of Cherokee settlements. At community gatherings virtually all formal discourse and most informal conversation is in Cherokee. At Cherokee Baptist Churches hymns are sung and sermons are preached in Cherokee. At stomp grounds, ceremonial speeches and public deliberations are in Cherokee. At pie suppers, funerals, and other occasions when Cherokees gather, Cherokee is heard. When the matter is brought to their attention, most Oklahomans suggest that this is so because the "older generation wants to hang on to its language." Certainly younger bilingual Cherokees would not offend their elders by speaking a language that is not commonly understood by them. But beyond this, it is becoming apparent that Cherokee is spoken at such times not only because Cherokee-speakers exist, but also because use of Cherokee defines the event as a Cherokee event. Whatever anxiety Cherokees feel about their identity as a people is likely to be expressed by *more* pressure to speak Cherokee, rather than less. Lately, there have been several instances in which pressure to speak one language or the other resulted in showdowns. From these it appears that when language becomes a conscious issue, Cherokee wins out. During the past year the congregations of Echota and Steeley churches have dismissed preachers who favored increasing use of English in the church, replacing them with preachers who use only Cherokee.

It is difficult to estimate the change through history in the proportions of Cherokees able to speak Cherokee and English, respectively. Nearly every publication on the Cherokees has predicted that their language was dying out; yet Cherokee is still indisputably the language with which Cherokees communicate. The relevant questions are not whether Cherokee is dying out, but to what extent Cherokees are learning English, at what age, and how.

The 1930 United States census reported that 19.7% of full-blood Cherokees were unable to speak English. This figure grouped together North Carolina and Oklahoma Cherokees, and probably more of the former spoke English than the latter. Since nearly half the population was then under twenty years old, with some schooling in English, this figure suggests that about 40% of full-blood Cherokee adults were unable to speak English at all. It is strange that Hall (1934) collected no data on language usage while carefully collecting information on so many other aspects of Cherokee life. He does mention that he often had to use an interpreter. The inference to be drawn is that all the households he visited were Cherokee-speaking and that consequently it did not occur to him to make any tabulation of English-speaking as against Cherokee-speaking households. Spoehr visited Oklahoma in 1938 to do research on Cherokee kinship and observed that "English is making very rapid inroads and is replacing Cherokee among younger individuals" (1947: 186). This implies, of course, that the older people spoke

Cherokee. The teenagers observed by Spoehr are now almost fifty, and in my observation persons of this age habitually speak Cherokee. Generational differences among Cherokees in English usage have existed for a long time, and presumably will continue as long as the social context of younger people encourages English usage more than does the social context of their adulthood.

In 1952 Cullum collected information on the language usually spoken in Cherokee households, reporting that of the homes surveyed 40.9% spoke more English than Cherokee, 58% spoke more Cherokee, and 1.1% showed no preference. Cullum's survey included all households with children who were Cherokee by the school system's definition (one-fourth or more Cherokee by blood). In some settlements Cullum's survey undoubtedly included a number of families who were socially not part of the functioning Cherokee community, and therefore not included in my survey. Apart from this, Cullum's data are questionable. In his survey, parents were interviewed by the teachers of their children and may have felt that they would "look bad" or jeopardize their children's welfare in school if they did not seem to "encourage" the children by speaking some English at home. In Oak Ridge, the most conservative of all Cherokee settlements, Cullum reports three out of eleven households spoke both Cherokee and English routinely. This is the same settlement in which a Bureau of Indian Affairs community worker tried to visit in 1964, finding very few homes where he could converse with adults without using children as interpreters. In Bell, another extremely conservative community in which Cherokee is spoken more commonly than in Cherry Tree, 22 out of 90 households reported to teachers that they customarily speak English.

In my survey, particular attention was given to recording the language used in the household, and whenever possible language usage was observed rather than asked about. The results are as follows (Table 1):

TABLE 1.—LANGUAGE USUALLY SPOKEN IN CHEROKEE HOUSEHOLDS, 1963

[In percent]

Community	Cherokee	Cherokee and English	English
Hulbert (N=30)	53	30	17
Cherry Tree (N=32)	59	34	6
Marble City (N=18)	72	17	11
Bull Hollow (N=18)	83	11	6

For the great majority of Cherokees, Cherokee is the first language learned and the language customarily spoken in the home. Cherokee and English-speaking households are of two types. In some households included in this category all members are bilingual and conversation shifts from one language to another with great fluidity. In other households English is spoken out of deference to one or more members who cannot or will not speak Cherokee. In both situations children are routinely exposed to Cherokee and the social conditions for learning or pre-learning the language are present.

By comparing the percentage of people who speak Cherokee in each "type" settlement with the total population of Cherokees living in settlements of each social type, we can make some reliable estimates of the population of Cherokee speakers as a whole (Table 2):

TABLE 2.—*Estimated Cherokee-speaking population, 1963*

Cherokee-speaking population in Cherokee settlements	7, 800
Cherokee-speaking population living in Cherokee Nation	8, 600
Cherokee-speaking population participating in Cherokee society	10, 450

These generalizations can be made about language use in Cherokee settlements:

(1) Cherokee is spoken at formal and informal gatherings in Cherokee settlements.

(2) In even the most acculturated settlements, Cherokee is the primary language used in over half of all households. In the least acculturated settlements, Cherokee is the primary language in virtually all households.

(3) The primary use of Cherokee in a household is no indicator of member's knowledge of English. In some Cherokee-speaking households no adult speaks English well, while in others all adults speak it well.

(4) In no settlements are there many households where English is primary. Under present circumstances, the fact that English is the primary language of the household may indicate only that the members of the household are marginal to the settlement as a whole.

(5) Most Cherokees learn English outside of the household, rather than within it. This suggests that the two languages have socially different meanings. Cherokee is the language through which an individual is socialized and communicates with his kinsmen. Its use at present is primarily local and social. English is the language one learns in school and hears from nonkinsmen. Its use at present is primarily instrumental.

We have known many Cherokees who must have spoken English in their youth but who now speak it very poorly. One close friend of mine, for example, went overseas as a doughboy in World War I and was the only Cherokee in the regiment. During those years of isolation from other Cherokees he learned English and a little French. Now he no longer can carry on even a simple conversation in English. It appears that once a Cherokee has abandoned the wanderings normal in youth and emerses himself in the social activities of his settlement, he seldom uses English and tends to forget the language. On the hypothesis that use of English declines as individuals assume mature roles in the settlement, we included the following question in the original version of the survey questionnaire: "Do you speak English better now than when you were younger?" The question, however, turned out to be incomprehensible, even in translation. To answer the question requires one to make observations and temporal comparisons of one's self, and Cherokees generally are not self-aware in this way. The hypothesis remains untested.

There was no way to measure fluency in English usage in the survey. Cherokees are extremely good mimics. Thus, some Cherokees with a very limited stock of rote-learned English phrases can easily be mistaken for fluent English speakers. It was difficult to determine whether halting use of English resulted from inability to speak fluently, a preference not to converse in English, or merely from shyness and feeling ill at ease. Seldom were all members of the household present at the time of the interview, and when discussing absent members we lacked criteria for evaluating what was meant when told, for example, that a brother spoke English "well." The only fully reliable observation that could be made was of individuals who did not speak English at all. In the absence of a means of adequately testing English fluency, Table 3 simply lists the numbers of heads of households who speak so little English that they are unable to participate in simple conversations.

TABLE 3.—NUMBER OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS UNABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH

Community	Number of househeads			Number unable to speak English			
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Percent total
Hulbert	19	25	44	6	12	18	40
Cherry Tree	28	28	56	5	3	8	14
Marble City	16	13	29	3	4	7	24
Bull Hollow	16	17	33	5	9	14	42

[1] Where both husband and wife are present in the household, both are counted as househeads.

It is difficult to determine how Cherokees learn as much English as they do. In the survey, informants were asked when they began to learn English. Again, this question was hard for most Cherokees to conceptualize, and the replies were difficult and sometimes impossible to tabulate (Table 4):

TABLE 4.—SOURCE OF CHEROKEE ADULTS' KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH

Source	Hulbert		Cherry Tree		Marble		Bull Hollow	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Learned in school	7	8	12	18	4	10	8	7
Learned from white neighbors or fellow workers	7	4	9	2	10	3	6	1
Learned from spouse or other English-speaking family member	3	7	5	7	4	0	1	0
Learned in armed service	3		1		0		2	

In general, the answers of men were more certain and definite than those of women. While the majority of women reported that they learned English in school, the majority of men reported that they learned it outside of school. That Cherokee girls tend to learn more easily than do boys in the rigidly structured context of a school room appears probable. In observing Kickapoo and Chicasaw children in Operation Head Start classes I observed that the response of young boys and girls was indeed very different, although the school system takes no account of sexual differences in the primary years. In any case, it does seem certain that most Cherokee males learn English through person-to-person interaction in some informal context. Some observations of Cherokee children support this notion. In some households in Marble City, there are pre-school children who speak fluent English even though English rarely is spoken in the household. Their parents think the learning results from watching television. However, in Bull Hollow there are non-English-speaking children of pre-school age who have watched as much television but have learned no English. The children in Marble City have first cousins (second brothers and sisters in Cherokee kin terms) with whom they play who are the children of a white mother and who speak no Cherokee. Evidently children in Marble City learn English from their playmates or at least enough English to make sense of and learn from the English they hear on television. In the absence of direct language learning from English-speaking kin, the children in Bull Hollow do not learn English from television. In fact, a child who hears only Cherokee may be unaware that the sounds heard on television are a language. It is also possible that for such children a school teacher is equally incomprehensible and that children must learn the rudiments of English through direct interaction on the playground before they can "decode" what the teacher is saying.

It is clear that language is not learned apart from personal interaction, at least not for tribal people. Language is an integral part of interaction with particular other people. The success of the United States Army techniques of teaching languages through imaginary interactions (dialogues and conversations) rather than through "grammar" and literature indicates that urban people also learn new languages in this way, although it might be supposed that urban people, being more individuated, are more capable of learning through imaginary mental interactions with themselves.

Although my data are not precise enough for tabulation, it is evident that Cherokees are learning English at an earlier age than formerly. In the 1930's children started school later, attended less regularly, and often did not become fluent in English until their teens, if they attained fluency at all. In those settlements classed with Bull Hollow, there are some teenagers who do not speak fluent English, but generally the present generation of youngsters speak serviceable English by the age of eight or nine. The age at which this knowledge of English is acquired varies among settlements. In settlements of the type of Bull Hollow many, perhaps most, pre-school children neither speak nor understand English. At Kenwood school, for example, the teacher communicates with first and second grade children by using older children as interpreters. In settlements of the type of Marble City most pre-school children understand basic English phrases, and a few speak English. In settlements like Cherry Tree, children usually understand and speak English before they enter school.

In order to determine English usage among the younger generation, the survey took separate note of the language of children 17 years of age or younger (Table 5):

TABLE 5.—LANGUAGE USE OF CHEROKEE CHILDREN 17 AND UNDER

Community	Percent currently bilingual	Percent currently English speaking
Hulbert	42	59
Cherry Tree	55	44
Marble City	80	20
Bull Hollow	78	22

It is not safe to predict from these figures the language that children will speak as adults. There are now some Cherokees who did not speak English at all when they were young and who presently refuse to speak Cherokee. Furthermore, there are some Cherokees who learned only English as children, but learned Cherokee from their spouses and have raised Cherokee-speaking children. Table 5 above indicates only what languages children *use*, not what languages they *know*. Many parents indicated that their children can speak Cherokee if they must, but prefer to speak English. Table 6 distinguishes between children who presumably do not know Cherokee (because only English is spoken in the household) and children who know Cherokee or could rapidly become Cherokee-speakers if there were a premium put on the ability to speak Cherokee. These latter children have been raised in households in which Cherokee is the primary language.

TABLE 6.—LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE OF CHEROKEE CHILDREN 17 AND UNDER

Community	Percent bilingual	Percent potentially bilingual	Percent know English only
Hulbert (N=59)	42	25	34
Cherry Tree (N=92)	55	43	1
Marble City (N=44)	80	18	2
Bull Hollow (N=42)	78	22	0

In spite of past predictions to the contrary, at no time since 1930 has the Cherokee-speaking population failed to increase from one generation to the next. The present generation might represent a breaking point in this trend, for although there are enough Cherokee-speaking youngsters to maintain or even increase the total population of Cherokee-speakers, young Cherokee-speakers are more bilingual than ever before. If Cherokee life is not greately disrupted, if the pressure to speak Cherokee in Cherokee settlements continues, and if the Cherokee population *in situ* continues to grow at a moderate rate, I would estimate the Cherokee-speaking population in 1985 to number at least 7,000. In addition to 7,000 Cherokee-speakers twenty years from now, there would be, of course, several thousand more understanding Cherokee but not speaking it. Such an estimate involves enormous "ifs." As is already obvious, bilingual individuals can elect to speak either language. Even now, Cherokee children do not necessarily speak the language preferred by their parents. Use of language is very much influenced by social relationships with the household, within the settlement, and with the general society. Cherokee is a low prestige language in eastern Oklahoma, and as young Cherokees gain more experience of whites, they become more aware of the low status ascribed to Cherokee-speakers.

However, the relationships between language learning, language prestige, and social relationships are very complex. The use of Cherokee in the household is also related to household composition. Because most Americans live in households containing nuclear families, they presume that children learn languages from their mothers and fathers. Among Cherokees few of the responsibilities of child rearing are assumed by parents, apart from financial support. Traditionally the eldest sister took care of her younger sisters and brothers, and to the extent that this is customary, language learning is affected. Young Cherokee women are particularly status conscious and prone to cease speaking Cherokee when they perceive that it is a low status language. When these girls take charge of their younger sisters and brothers, English is spoken. Thus, one sometimes encounters household groups in which parents can barely speak English and the youngest children can barely speak Cherokee. During the last twenty years, however, girls have stayed in school longer and have attended more frequently. In the absence of younger girls, grandparents, who traditionally had more responsibility than parents for rearing children, have assumed even more responsibility. As a result, in some homes children speak more Cherokee than do their parents. Since the nuclear family is not the basic social unit for Cherokee society, and children frequently spend more time with adults of the grandparental generation than with parents, Table 7 compares households containing individuals of the grandparental generation with nuclear family households in an attempt to appraise the influence of grandparents in socialization.

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS CONTAINING GRANDPARENTS

Community	Percent of households with children under 17 and parents only	Percent of households with children under 17 and grandparents (with or without parents)
Hulbert	57	43
Cherry Tree	79	21
Marble City	50	50
Bull Hollow	31	69

Roughly half of all Cherokee children are reared directly by grandparents. Most people old enough to be grandparents are far more fluent in Cherokee than in English. Language and person are, especially to these tribal people, inseparable. Thus, language is an inseparable part of the relationship between child and grandparent. To the extent that Cherokee becomes defined as a low status language, the total relationship between child and grandparent is redefined and the authority of grandparents in socializing children is correspondingly weakened. Given the situation, the hypothesis is warranted that as Cherokee children become more aware of white disapproval of Cherokee as a language, basic socialization relationships within the household will deteriorate and child delinquency will increase.

In summary, the present linguistic situation of the Cherokees are as follows:

(1) Cherokees in general are not self-conscious about language. To be Cherokee is to speak Cherokee. There are whole tribes of English-speaking Indians in the United States which have maintained their separate identities although they no longer speak their native language. Cherokees do not know this. Most Cherokees equate loss of their language with loss of Cherokeeness. They see in the extinction of the language the extinction of the Cherokee people.

(2) Whites disapprove of speaking Cherokee. In response to this disapproval young people who have more frequent interaction with whites speak less Cherokee. The less isolated the settlement the more this is the case.

(3) Young people who refuse to speak Cherokee still have kinsmen who prefer to speak Cherokee. Through such relationships, Cherokees are becoming conscious of a "language problem." Many conclude that the language will die out unless something is done. This generates considerable anxiety. Furthermore, there are Cherokee prophecies which predict that the Cherokee people will be reduced until only a few "true Cherokees" are left. The remaining few then will be favored by God and the Cherokee people will flower in strength and purity. As the issue of language becomes more conscious, Cherokees are likely to (a) apply more deliberate pressure on their own children to learn Cherokee and (b) fatalistically shut out non-Cherokee-speaking Cherokees as among those destined no longer to be a part of the "true" Cherokee people.

(4) Cherokee settlements are social units. They must have a common language if they are to continue to function as they do. Rural settlements like Bull Hollow and Marble City can easily maintain themselves as Cherokee-speaking communities. Less isolated Cherokee settlements now contain large numbers of young Cherokees who do not speak Cherokee. The future of these settlements is difficult to predict:

a. These communities might split into separate Cherokee and English-speaking groups. Separate ceremonial institutions could evolve in the process.

b. These communities might adjust to the numbers of English speakers within them and rapidly become English-speaking Cherokee communities, perhaps retaining Cherokee as a ceremonial and symbolic language.

c. Social boundaries might evolve such that Cherokee speakers would consider English-speaking Cherokees to be "not really Cherokee." If this were to happen, Cherokee speakers would interact more among themselves and push non-Cherokee speakers out of the community. The result would be rapid assimilation of non-Cherokee speakers into the general society and the persistence of a reduced but more self-consciously Cherokee speaking community.

d. Since less isolated communities, particularly those evolving in towns, have more English speakers than do isolated settlements, Cherokee speakers might concentrate in the country and English speakers concentrate in urban areas. This would result in an even more conservative rural Cherokee population than now exists, while at the same time urban Cherokees would become more conscious of the possibility of maintaining themselves as an English-speaking community of Indians. Under these circumstances, roughly one-half of the total population of Cherokees would continue to speak Cherokee, and would more consciously resist efforts to induce them to speak English.

LITERACY IN CHEROKEE

It is well known that after Sequoyah's perfection of a Cherokee syllabary in 1821 the Cherokees rapidly became literate in their own language. Prior to the Civil War, literacy in Cherokee was almost universal, largely because of its general utility. Printed material in Cherokee included laws, treaties and other legislative and judicial proceedings, Bibles and other religious books, newspapers and notices, and school books. In addition to published materials, personal letters, accounts, minutes and organizational records were all recorded in Cherokee.

Since 1907 there has been no new printed material in Cherokee. Since about 1890, school has been taugh exclusively in English, and children have been taught to write only English in the secular school system. There has been a reduction in the general, secular utility of Cherokee literacy.

Currently, the only printed material readily available in the Sequoyah syllabary are an edition of the New Testament and a Cherokee Hymnal. Withal, literacy in Cherokee has become an art for the Cherokee adult involved in ceremonial activities. Cherokee churches are conducted in Cherokee and Sunday School classes are taught from the Cherokee Testament. To be a functional adult participant in a Cherokee Baptist Church, it is extremely desirable to know how to read Cherokee.

Many churches keep records in Cherokee, and even where such records are now kept in English it is necessary for church officers to be able to read records of membership and baptism previously inscribed in Cherokee. Cherokee doctors use "medicine books" in which the sacred formulas and prayers for curing are written in Cherokee. In order to become a doctor, one must first learn to read and write Cherokee.

Cherokees ordinarily do not learn to read Cherokee until they become interested in ceremonial activities. They rarely develop a strong interest in such matters until they are at least thirty years old. Children seldom learn to read and write the language, although once in a while parents will try to teach them. This does not mean that Cherokee literacy is dying out. It simply means that the age at which one becomes literate is deferred.

The amount of Cherokee literacy in the communities survey is shown in Table 8. Literacy is defined as ability to read Cherokee, since there is less occasion now to write the language. Figures are given separately for the age group 30–50 years. It is evident that Cherokee adults born after statehood are almost as literate as those born before statehood, particularly inasmuch as some of those in their thirties who are presently illiterate in Cherokee might still learn to read.

TABLE 8.—LITERACY IN CHEROKEE

[In percent]

Community	Adults over 30	Adults 30 to 50
Hulbert	36	26
Cherry Tree	43	44
Marble City	46	28
Bull Hollow	65	53

Men and women do not differ significantly in their degree of literacy in Cherokee.

Whereas in the 1920's and 1930's Cherokees taught the Sequoyah syllabary to children in organized classes at stomp grounds and at Baptist Sunday schools, such classes are rare now. Most young adults literate in Cherokee are either self-taught or have learned from a literate relative. Since commonly someone in the learner's household teaches him, the survey ascertained the number of households with one or more members literate in Cherokee able to teach Cherokee or read the Carnegie Project's Cherokee newspaper to other members of the household (Table 9).

Table 9.—*Literacy in Cherokee households—Percent of households containing 1 or more members literate in Cherokee*

Community:	
Hulbert	40
Cherry Tree	63
Marble City	83
Bull Hollow	83

EDUCATION

Tribal Cherokees and formal education

Almost immediately after their removal to Oklahoma the Cherokees established their own national school system. From the date of its establishment in 1841 until the very last years of the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokee national government ran the school system with complete autonomy. Indeed, no Cherokee school was ever supervised or even visited by agents of the United States government until after June 30, 1898. The school system was a celebrated success reputed to be the finest school system west of the Mississippi River.

Today, Cherokee children receive an extremely low level of education. The survey data on Cherokee scholastic achievement show that Cherokees now simply do not stay in school very long. Before citing data from the survey, however, it would be well to dispel the notion that disinterest among traditional Cherokees in the present school system is a consequence of the replacement of the Cherokee national school system. The alienation of Cherokees from schools came about long before the dissolution of the Cherokee school system.

Throughout the history of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma there were two major factions within the tribe, known in the latter years of the Cherokee Nation as the "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" factions. The fine reputation of the Cherokee national school system rests on its success in educating members of the mixed-blood faction. There were periods when the school system also was welcomed in full-blood settlements depending on the success of full-bloods in keeping the aims of the school system consistent with the aims of the full-blood community.

Initially, in all schools of the Cherokee school system English was the language of instruction. Literacy in English was taught, and English textbooks were used. After the invention of the Sequoyah syllabary in 1821 Cherokees very rapidly became almost universally literate in Cherokee. Nearly universal literacy in Cherokee preceded the establishment of the school system. The syllabary was easy to teach, and upon entering school, children *already* were literate in Cherokee, having learned at home. To learn to read and write in English, then, was not a new art but rather a repetition in a second langauge of an art already learned in Cherokee. It seems likely that during this period the full-blood community may have regarded the system of education in English promoted by the national government as an *alternative* to their own unrecognized system of education in Cherokee. In any case, by the 1850's the full-blood community was disillusioned with the Cherokeee school system's inflexible insistence on an all English curriculum. In 1851, of twenty-two day schools, only one was conducted in the Cherokee language (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1851, p. 381). In 1857, the Superintendent of the Cherokee schools reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that:

> "It is true that thousands are now and have long been awake to the importance of education and are making great efforts to bring the rising generation under the influence of schools. Yet *the mass of the real Cherokees* remain supine, if not opposed to a civilizing education" (Thorton 1926: 35, italics mine).

He went on to say that some of the Cherokees even considered an English education a national evil if not a personal calamity. These Cherokees said that it made their young people proud and led to national dissipation.

The issue of education solely in English versus education in Cherokee as well as English was suspended during the Civil War. Through the 1860's the schools were shut down, but with their reopening in the 1870's the dispute was renewed. For the duration of the Cherokee national school system's history, there were about thirty schools located in full-blood settlements. After the Civil War, and perhaps before as well, there were approximately thirty bilingual school teachers. The curriculum was officially in English, but all teachers in full-blood settlements probably used the Cherokee language as a vehicle for teaching English. Clearly even this did not satisfy the full-blood faction. A traveler through Salina in those days reported that the question of which language should be used in school was being heatedly discussed. In 1873, the year in which this issue finally became a crisis, Chief William P. Ross reported the following in his annual message:

"If the public schools have not been attended with all the success that might have been wished or expected, no deliberate, candid mind, it appears to me, can deny that they have been productive of great good and are still the means of imparting much knowledge to the children of our country. No one denies benefits derived from public schools by that portion of our people who have a knowledge of the English language. *But there are those who contend that the present system has been a failure so far as those are concerned who have not that knowledge*" (quoted in Thornton 1926: 36; italics mine).

By 1874, the full-bloods had won and the Cherokee schools in full-blood settlements were reformed. It appears that the reforms were three fold:

(1) The use of the Cherokee language as a vehicle of instruction was permitted.

(2) Some technique approximating the contemporary notion of teaching English as a second language was used. *The Cherokee Advocate* reported in 1874 that "in the *Cherokee speaking schools* one entire morning and evening was devoted to teaching common English words, with their meaning" (italics mine).

(3) Cherokee texts were used. It was during this decade that arithmetic and music text books in the Sequoyah syllabary were published; a text on geography was under preparation but never printed.

The reforms must have been successful, for from 1875 until the 1890's the Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries were crowded with full-blood students who had graduated from primary schools in full-blood settlements.

When in 1889 the mixed-blood faction finally gained control over the Cherokee government they conducted the Cherokee school system for the benefit of their own faction and insisted that schools for full-bloods be taught in English. After less than a decade of this high-handed treatment, the full-blood faction gave up on education. In 1897 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported that the "conservatives" thought the tribe was spending too much on education (1897: 145). And with good reason they thought so. When in 1898 the federal government sent John D. Benedict to supervise the Cherokee Nation's schools, he reported that the Male and Female Academies were serving only the children of mixed-bloods and wealthy full-bloods. The academies received a disproportionate share of school funds, he said, while the neighborhood schools, designed primarily for full-bloods, had to struggle along with what was left (Annual Report, Department of Interior 1899: 88). In an independent report, Benedict's colleague, Benjamin Coppock, gave a similar assessment.

By 1905 there were thirty-four schools for full-bloods only, "maintained in districts where both parents and pupils used the Cherokee language and very little English was understood. All school work was done in English" (Thornton 1926: 46). The transition to English resulted in a disenchantment with education which continues to the present day. From then on few full-blood students enrolled in the Cherokee Academies of higher education. Whereas in the 1880's the full-blood parents literally drove their children into the schools, in the 1890's and thereafter they stopped encouraging their children's attendance.

Certainly by then the condition of the school system was intolerable. The following remarks of Angie Debo were based on the memoirs of Alice Roberston, a Presbyterian missionary who helped establish schools in the Creek Nation at the turn of the century:

"Perhaps it would have been wiser to conduct the day schools in Creek, for they were almost a complete failure in teaching English. The a-b-c method in vogue at the time was bad enough for the English-speaking children, but it was worse for the young Creeks. They learned to pronounce nonsense syllables like parrots, and to read rapidly in the First and Second Readers before they dropped out of school in disgust without knowing the meaning of a single word. Some of the teachers tried to work out a technique of their own by the use of objects, but they were under such strong pressure to show results in the glib reading of meaningless sentences that few were able to resist it. To make matters worse, none of the white teachers and few of the mixed-blood Creeks were able to speak the native language" (Debo 1930: 309).

An educational technique was no better in the Cherokee Nation. A Cherokee who attended school on Blackgum Mountain in the 1890's reported that the teacher whipped children who were unable to master words written on the blackboard in English. After this had gone on for some time, a group of Cherokee adults entered the school with whips of their own and wrote words on the blackboard in the Sequoyah syllabary. They told the teacher to read the words. When he could not, they told him that if he expected to whip their children for being unable to read words in *his* language, then they expected to whip him for being unable to read words in *their* language . . . which they did.

In the 1890's Cherokees found active means to express their hostility toward forms of education which they considered inappropriate. That such incidents no longer occur does not mean that hostility has ceased, but rather that Cherokees finally have become totally alienated from the school system. The tribe has surrendered to the school bureaucracy, but tribal opinion is unchanged. When a "progressive" young Cherokee preacher at Echota Baptist Church insisted on teaching Sunday school in English from English tracts, members of the congregation approached members of the Four Mothers Society (Nighthawk) and proposed that they join in building a mutual Sunday school where instruction would be in Cherokee and the Sequoyah syllabary taught to children. Only when the offensive preacher had been dismissed did members of the congregation abandon this coalition and return to the Baptist Church. The Cherokee community at Salem is presently considering initiating an adult Cherokee literacy course using the Sequoyah syllabary. They are insisting that the course be taught in the church and not in the school house, as had been originally proposed. The church "belongs" to Cherokees; the school house does not.

Present level of education among Cherokees

The following assessment of the level of education of the tribal Cherokee community is based on schooling data carefully recorded in the course of the survey.

(1) The majority of Cherokees receive very little education. The median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee population as a whole is only 5.5 (Table 10). Cullum's data (Table 11) provide independent corroboration of this figure.

(2) Cherokees of forty years and older, the age group providing leadership in a Cherokee settlement, have completed a median of four years of school. Cherokees under forty are relatively better educated (Table 11).

(3) The educational level of the population has increased almost imperceptibly since 1933. The increase has been from 3.3 school years completed to 5.5, an increase of 2.2 school years completed in the last thirty years (Table 12).

(4) Forty percent of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate in English (Table 13).

(5) During the last thirty years, the decrease in functional illiteracy has been small—from 59% in 1933 to 40% in 1963 (Table 14).

(6) The percentage of Cherokees who have at least an eighth grade education is only 39% (Table 15), and this percentage has grown very slowly since 1933 when 22% had finished at least eighth grade (Table 16).

(7) The level of education obtained by Cherokees is not only well below the average for the State of Oklahoma, but is also below the average for rural and non-white population in the state (Table 17). Insofar as can be determined from the 1960 United States census, Cherokees are the least educated group of people in the state with the possible exceptions of Choctaw Indians and small populations of Negroes along the Oklahoma-Texas border.

(8) The category of people with least education in the state of Oklahoma in 1950 was the rural non-white, non-farm population, with a median of 6.4 school years completed. The non-white population of the state is overwhelmingly Negro. The figures cited in the census for non-white populations in the state as a whole are very close to being figures for the Negro population of the state.[1] The Cherokees *now* have an educational level which is lower by nearly one school year than the Negro population of the state *ten years ago* and lower by 2.2 school years than the Negro population of the state now. As a community of people, Cherokees are at a considerable disadvantage.

(9) The low educational level of the Cherokee tribal community could be due either to the failure of all *Cherokee* students to progress through school or to the loss through migration of highly educated Cherokees, or to both. This will be discussed below.

---

[1] The non-white population of the state of Oklahoma in 1960 was 70% Negro, 29.2% Indian, 0.8% other non-white. The Five Civilized Tribes are less well educated than the non-white average. Insofar as there are figures for other Indian tribes in the state, they have an educational level very close to the average for all non-whites.

(10) The low educational level of Cherokees is not a uniquely "Indian" phenomenon. Insofar as it is possible to estimate, others of the Five Civilized Tribes (Creek, Choctaw, Chicasaw, Seminole) have roughly the same educational level as do Cherokees (Table 19). Among some other isolated tribal Indians such as the Navajo, the level of education is as low or lower than among Cherokees. However, among tribes of western Oklahoma and of Indians of the United States in general the level of education, while low, is higher than among the Cherokees (Table 20). It should be noted that many of the tribes with a higher level of education than Cherokees have had one hundred years less contact with educational institutions, but under different circumstances.

TABLE 10.—MEDIAN GRADE COMPLETED BY CHEROKEES OVER 18 YEARS OF AGE

Community	Males	Females	All
Hulbert	6.5	5.6	6.0
Cherry Tree	7.0	7.8	7.5
Marble City	4.0	6.0	6.0
Bull Hollow	5.5	5.0	5.0
All	5.3	5.8	5.5

Remarks: The median for all communities was not calculated from the median for each community. To arrive at the most accurate figure possible, the data from each community were converted into equivalent figures for a community of 100 households (in order to represent a balanced population from a sample in which each community was actually represented by a different number of questionnaires). A median was then calculated for the combined data. In this way, each community was weighted more equally.

TABLE 11.—MEDIAN GRADE COMPLETED BY AGE (CULLUM AND CARNEGIE PROJECT SURVEYS)

	Years	Years	Years	Years	Years	Years	Years	Years
Age group (Cullum)		18–19	*20–29	*30–39	*40–49	*50–59	60–69	70+
Age group (CP survey)	18–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–59	70+	--------
Median grade (Cullum)		7	7	6	5	5	3	3
Median grade (minus 1 year) (Cullum)		6	6	5	4	4	3	2
Median grade (CP survey)	11	10	8	4	4	4	0	--------

(REMARKS)

1. Correction of Cullum's figures. Cullum carefully collected data on education in his survey. Inasmuch as there is obviously a wide differential between the education attained by people who are functionally white and those who are functionally Cherokee, we must look at the composition of Cullum's sample more carefully in order to evaluate his data. Of the 2,189 individuals in Cullum's sample for whom data on the degree of Indian ancestry were available, 5.2 percent had no Indian ancestry (intermarried whites, rarely participating in Cherokee community life), 3.4 percent were less than ¼ Cherokee (probably children of "halfbreeds" and whites; rarely functional Cherokees) and 10.8 percent were less than ½ Cherokee ("halfbreeds" and children of mixed marriages; again rarely functional members of Cherokee communities). In addition, 18.2 percent of the sample were of less than full Cherokee ancestry (some of these would be "fullblood" Cherokees who were enrolled as being actually ⅝ or ¾ Cherokee and "in" the community; some would be childern of "fullbloods" and "halfbreeds" who were enrolled as being actually of slightly less than full blood, and would, for the most part, be "in" the community.

In terms of functional participation, roughly ⅓ of Cullum's sample was "white" and would at that time have completed a median of 7 school years. This minority would raise the median of school years attained by the whole sample by roughly 1 full year over the figure which would be obtained from a sample population similar to the sample on which the CP survey is based.

2. Verification of CP survey. Individuals who were between 20 and 29 years of age when Cullum made his survey were between 30 and 39 years of age when the CP survey was made 10 years later. Therefore, equal age spans are marked.* 2 agree, 1 agrees within 1 year, 1 agrees within 2 years. Considering that the figures in each survey are rounded to the nearest year, table 11 indicates a high degree of correspondence and suggests that the CP survey was quite accurate in spite of the smaller sample.

TABLE 12.—MEDIAN GRADE COMPLETED BY CHEROKEES FROM 1933 TO 1963

Source	Men	Women	All
Hall (1933)[1]	(?)	(?)	3.3
Cullum (1952)	5.6	6.3	5.9
Cullum minus 1 year[2]	4.6	5.3	4.9
CP Survey (1963)	5.3	5.8	5.5

[1] This figure is for the total population over 18 in the sample. Taking Hall's data for "parents" only, the median is 3.5.
[2] See remarks under table 11.

TABLE 13.—FUNCTIONAL ILLITERACY OF CHEROKEES OVER 18

[In percent]

Community	Men	Women	All
Hulbert	48	25	37
Cherry Tree	29	28	28
Marble City	48	25	37
Bull Hollow	47	47	47
All	42	38	40

Remarks: It is commonly supposed that most persons who have completed no more than 4th grade are functionally illiterate; that is, can "letter through" a piece of written material but are unable to fully comprehend the contents of an ordinary book or newspaper.

TABLE 14.—FUNCTIONAL ILLITERACY FROM 1933–63

[In percent]

Source	Men	Women	All
Hall, 1933 [1]	62	55	59
Cullum, 1952 [2]	44	37	40
Survey, 1963	42	38	40

Note: [1] Figures given for "parents" group only, [2] no correction for "whites" in sample. See remarks under table 11.

TABLE 15.—COMPLETION OF 8TH GRADE OR MORE

[In percent]

Community	Men	Women	All
Hulbert	45	47	45
Cherry Tree	44	47	47
Marble City	37	40	38
Bull Hollow	38	30	34
All	38	43	39

TABLE 16.—COMPLETION OF 8TH GRADE OR MORE, FROM 1933–63

[In percent]

Source	Men	Women	All
Hall, 1933			22
Cullum, 1952 [1]			34
CP Survey, 1963	38	43	39

[1] No correction for "whites" in sample.

TABLE 17.—COMPARATIVE LEVELS OF EDUCATION

Date and population	Source	Median school years completed
1950—State of Oklahoma	1950 census	9.1
1950—Oklahoma rural	do	8.5
1950—Oklahoma rural white	do	8.5
1950—Oklahoma rural nonwhite	do	6.4
1950—Cherokees	Cullum	5.9
1950—do	Cullum (minus 1 year).	4.9
1950—State of Oklahoma	1960 census	10.4
1960—Oklahoma rural	do	8.8
1960—Oklahoma rural white	do	8.9
1960—Oklahoma rural nonwhite	do	7.5
1960—Cherokees	CP survey	5.8

REMARKS

An estimate from 1960 U.S. census data of the median number of school years completed by functional Cherokees is 6 to 6.5 years. The median is raised by inclusion of self-identified Cherokees who are not functional members of the Cherokee tribal community, especially in Tahlequah. The data are as follows (table 18):

TABLE 18.—MEDIAN NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED, 1960 U.S. CENSUS

County	Rural	Nonwhite
Adair	8.0	5.8
Cherokee	8.3	7.7
Delaware	8.5	6.3
Sequoyah	8.2	7.1
Mayes	8.7	6.9

Note: The census figure given for the rural population of a county includes the nonwhite population of the county. There are no separate figures for Indians. The percentages of Indians in the nonwhite population of these counties are: Adair, 100 percent; Cherokee, 99 percent; Delaware, 99 percent; Mayes, 94 percent; Sequoyah, 50 percent. The Cherokee County figure is higher due to the urban Indian population of Tahlequah. The figure for Mayes County is similarly raised by a small urban Indian population in Pryor. The figures for Adair and Delaware are closer to "true" for Indians. The high figure in Sequoyah County, where the social life in Indians differs very little from Adair County, suggests that Sequoyah County Negroes are much better educated than Sequoyah County Indians.

TABLE 19.—NONWHITE POPULATION AND EDUCATION IN SOUTHEAST OKLAHOMA

County	Tribe of Indians in nonwhite population	Percent Negroes in nonwhite population	Median school years completed	Urban areas in county
Adair	Cherokee	0	5.8	
Cherokee	do	<1	7.7	Tahlequah.
Delaware	do	0	6.3	
Mayes	do	6	6.9	(2).
Sequoyah	do	50	7.1	
Atoka	Choctaw	95	7.1	Atoka.
Bryan	do	64	8.0	Durant.
Coal	do	26	(1)	
Choctaw	do	79	7.0	Hugo.
Haskell	do	20	(1)	
Latimer	do	16	(1)	
Le Flore	do	52	7.7	
McCurtain	do	69	6.1	
Pittsburg	do	70	9.0	McAlester.
Pushmataha	do	24	(1)	
Creek	Creek	72	8.1	Sapulpa.
Hughes	do	34	7.1	
McIntosh	do	59	6.8	
Muskogee	do	86	8.6	Muskogee.
Okfuskee	do	71	7.4	
Okmulgee	do	81	7.6	Okmulgee.
Tulsa	do	85	9.6	Tulsa.
Bryan	Chickasaw	49	8.0	Durant.
Carter	do	82	8.2	Ardmore.
Garvin	do	80	8.1	
Johnston	do	36	(1)	
Marshall	do	57	(1)	
Murray	do	48	(1)	
Pontotoc	do	49	6.9	Ada.
Stephens	do	80	8.1	Duncan.
Seminole	Seminole	54	7.3	Seminole.

[1] No data in census tables.

[2] Pryor is an urban area in Mayes County, but most of the Mayes County Cherokee population is rural.

REMARKS

1. Table 19 generally confirms the CP survey data. We know that urban populations are generally better educated than rural populations and we know that Indian settlements in the Five Civilized Tribes are rural. Therefore, the figures in table 19 for counties with neither large numbers of Negroes nor large urban populations should be a fairly accurate indication of the educational level of tribal populations in the county. In the Cherokee Nation, Adair, Delaware, and Mayes Counties fulfill these conditions. The range of figures for median school years completed is from 5.8 to 6.9. This coincides closely with the range between communities in the CP survey of 5 to 7.5 years. Under these conditions, then, the census figures provide a rough rule of the thumb for estimating educational levels of Creeks, Choctaws, Chicasaws, and Seminoles. Unfortunately, the census does not give data for the counties with high Indian and luw Negro populations. On the basis of table 19 and personal impressions, I would make the following estimates (plus or minus 0.5 year): Creeks, 6.5; Choctaws, 6 or less; Chicasaw, 7; Seminole, 6.5.

2. Negroes seem to be better educated than Indians. I know from observation that Indian communities and social conditions in general are very similar in Adair and Sequoyah Counties. It is logical to suppose that Negroes have pushed up the median figure for nonwhite education in Sequoyah County. Similarly, the presence of Negroes might account for the difference between Pontotoc and Garvin Counties. This point is not made convincingly in table 19, but the data tend to support the assertions made in this report.

3. There is little difference in level of education among the Five Civilized Tribes. Table 19 bears this out, if one keeps in mind the effects of large Negro populations and of urban Indians no longer participating in tribal communities.

TABLE 20.—COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SELECTED AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES

Tribe	Median number school years completed	County	State
Navajo	<2	Various	New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado
Cherokee [1]	6.0		
Creek [2]	6.5		
Choctaw [2]	6.0		
Chicasaw [2]	7.0		
Seminole [2]	6.5		
Caddo	8.6	Caddo	Oklahoma.
Osage	9.2	Osage	Do.
Ponca	9.3	Kay	Do.
Sac and Fox Pottawatomie Shawnee	8.7	Pottawatomie	Do.
Apache	7.1	Gila	New Mexico.
Blackfoot	8.8	Glacier	Montana.
Chippewa	7.8	Cass	Minnesota.
Do	8.1	Becker	Do.
Do	8.8	Bertram	Do.
Do	7.5	Rolette	North Dakota.
Crow	8.5	Big Horn	Montana.
Cheyenne	8.2	Rosebud	Do.
Sioux	7.9	Shannon	South Dakota.
Do	8.3	Todd	Do.
Do	8.5	Sioux	North Dakota.
Shoshone	8.7	Fremont	Wyoming.
Ute	8.2	Uintah	Utah.

[1] This figure is an estimate based on the census, not on the CP survey. See remarks under table 19.

[2] These figures are estimates based on general experience and the census. See remarks under table 19.

REMARKS

For uniformity, these figures are gathered from the data on nonwhite populations in the 1960 U.S. census. Because such data are published only for selected counties, and because it is desirable to have figures for counties with few Negroes in which the nonwhite population consists principally of Indians, few tribes could be included in the table. All counties in Oklahoma for which there is data on nonwhite populations contain Negroes as well as Indians. Only counties with 50 percent or more Indians are included in this table. The proportion of Indians in the nonwhite population is as follows: Caddo, 80 percent; Kay, 67 percent; Osage, 69 percent; Pottawatomie, 59 percent.

Cherokees in school

The survey questionnaire included questions on when and under what circumstances children left school. Since most interviews were conducted during the day when young people, especially those with jobs, were not around, the information had to be obtained from adults in the household. Generally, they could tell me very little. Informants were paintakingly precise in answering questions when they knew the answers, even delicate questions about the income of people on welfare. Their vagueness about questions relating to the education of their children was not motivated by a desire to withhold information. They simply knew very little about why children stay in or drop out of school. The degree to which adult members of the Cherokee community are alienated from the school system is impressive.

Thus, the survey did not produce many "hard data" on this subject, but from the conversations which arose while administering the questionnaire, and from my observations while living in two Cherokee settlements, I can note some trends:

(1) Cherokees are staying in school longer. The median number of years completed by youngsters rose from seven to ten in the past decade.

(2) Increased school attendance has no demonstrable relationship to anything that goes on *inside* the school. (a) Cherokees now find it easier to get to school since there are very adequate school bus facilities. As recently as the 1940's many Cherokees had to walk as many as three or four miles to school. (b) There is more enforcement of truancy regulations than formerly. This is especially true of households supervised by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or state social workers since they are likely to make school attendance a condition for welfare payments. (c) There is less employment for young people. In the 1930's children were needed for farm work. Now teenagers are largely unemployed, although their help is sometimes urgently needed around the house.

Although I have met whites in this region who stayed in school simply for the athletics, I rarely have heard this from Cherokees. Cherokee girls seem a little more interested than boys in school, and some girls are enthusiastic about being on girls' basketball teams. Young men obviously enjoy playing on Cherokee settlement softball teams, but few are attracted to high school sports. When I lived at Cherry Tree, I met boys who had turned out for football in the ninth grade and quit after a few weeks because it was "too rough." What "too rough" implied, I am not sure.

Although I have heard of Indians elsewhere in the United States attending school simply for the free lunch, I have never heard this reason given by Cherokees.

Teenagers here, as everywhere, are style conscious. I do not know how many Cherokee youngsters dislike going to school for lack of the "right" clothes, but I do recall that the two Cherokee boys I knew who were most determined to make it through school would stay up and iron a fresh, sharp crease into their sport shirts and unfaded blue jeans every single night.

Finally, school must compete with other activities. Whereas a Chicago youth has relatively few opportunities for spending a pleasant day if stone-broke, a Cherokee boy playing hooky has his choice of some of the best hunting and fishing country in the Southwest.

Incredibly few Cherokees ever graduate from high school. The number is so low that it is probably misleading even to talk about "Cherokee drop-outs." It seems to me that to call a youngster who does not finish high school a "drop-out" is realistic terminology only when *not* dropping out is a norm. Such is not now the case among Cherokees. In Delaware county, where by the school system's definition 19% of the residents are Indian (one-fourth or more Indian blood), an estimated 2% graduate from high school (Underwood, 1965). This would mean that the number of functional Cherokee students who graduate from high school is under 1%. In Cherokee county in 1965 there was a school age population (6 to 18 years) population of 1050 Indians (one-fourth or more Indian blood). Of this number, 24 graduated from high school in 1965 (Underwood, 1965).

Whereas high school drop-outs generally leave school during the eleventh and twelfth grades, the majority of Cherokee drop-outs leave school before or during the first year of high school (Table 21):

TABLE 21.—LAST YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY AGE GROUP 20 TO 30 YEARS

Grade completed	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	12+
Men	0	1	12	12	2	0	7	1
Women	1	2	7	17	8	7	5	0
All	1	3	19	29	10	7	12	1

The transition from grade school to high school means for Cherokee youngsters a transition from a school in their home community to a school outside of it. The transition involves not only going a greater distance to school, but also adjusting to a new peer group. Given the tendency to drop out at the end of grade school, those Cherokees who continue have to face the new educational environment alone. Most high schools are urban (Sallisaw, Muldrow, Stilwell, Westville, Tahlequah, Hulbert. Kansas, Jay, and Saina), containing many children of middle-class backgrounds. Thus Cherokee students find themselves suddenly among classmates with relatively little previous contact with Indians and, to put the matter politely, a higher level of cross-cultural ignorance.[3] With relatively little social support, such Cherokee youth are confronted for the first time in any personally significant way with major class differences within their own peer group.

---

[3] Such ignorance can be horribly painful for a Cherokee adolescent. A Cherokee friend of mine, an exceptionally mature and intelligent young man in the tenth grade at Stilwell High School, who was earning good grades, decided to demonstrate the Sequoyah syllabary for an oral report in his Oklahoma history class. He brought copies of the syllabary and Cherokee Primer and, having just taught himself to read and write Cherokee, demonstrated the system by writing and pronouncing Cherokee words on the blackboard. At the end of the report the teacher, much pleased, encouraged the class to ask questions. No questions were asked about the syllabary, but rather the student was forced to respond to a humiliating flood of impertinences. He first was asked if he could recite the Lord's Prayer in Cherokee. This he patiently did. He then was asked if there really were Cherokees who could "witch" people. He replied that there were. When asked if he were a witch (!), he replied that this was a power attainable only by older people. The incredulous students then asked whether he "really believed in all that superstition." Endowed with remarkable self-confidence, he was able to explain that this was exactly what he believed. Few indeed are the fifteen-year-olds of any society who could withstand such an inquisition! The teacher, by the way, never intervened in this exchange.

A large number are able to stand no more than a year of this and drop out during or at the end of ninth grade.

This uncomfortable social environment is evidently not the whole explanation for Cherokees dropping out of school. Cave Springs High School, located within the rural Cherokee settlement of Bunch in Adair county, has a similar drop out rate despite the more homogeneous constituency. One could argue from this that dropping out in ninth grade is not a result of the high school environment but of inadequate academic preparation in the country grade schools. However, rural school principals seem convinced that the preparation is comparable to that offered in urban grade schools, and I believe that comparison of high school performance of white students from urban and rural grade schools would support the principals' evaluation.

A hypothesis worth investigating but not testable with present data is that dropping out of school results from difficulty with English. By and large, Cherokee teenagers are fluent only in the dialect of English spoken in rural Oklahoma.[3] I have observed Cherokees fluent in this dialect having grave difficulty when conversing with strangers who were speaking the English common to middle-class urbanites. Success in grade school rests primarily upon mastery of mechanical procedures (arithmetic, spelling, grammar, rote memorization of geography, etc.), while success in high school increasingly depends upon mastery of more sophisticated English.

In addition to the eighth and ninth grade drop-outs, a high number of drop-outs also occur in the late eleventh and twelfth grades. This is not clearly evident in Table 21 because of the small sample and because many Cherokees, especially boys, who have gone beyond the eleventh grade have migrated and therefore do not show up in the sample drawn from local Cherokee settlements. Some of the factors which contribute to dropping out at this point are:

(1) Pregnancy and/or marriage. A considerable number of Cherokee girls marry and/or become pregnant while still in high school. This is in part due to the high percentage of Cherokee young people who are 18 years or older by the eleventh and twelfth grade, and does not suggest that Cherokees reach sexual maturity any earlier than whites.

(2) Family responsibilities. Cherokee families are close knit and poor. Sickness is frequent and accidents are common among workers, and temporary incapacitation of a wage earner frequently jeapordizes his family's welfare. In addition, where grandparents are elderly relatives are raising grandchildren, they occasionally become too old to care adquately for the children before the latter finish school. Hence, some students drop out of school in time of financial crisis or to take care of older relatives and younger siblings.

(3) Passing 18 years of age. Many students come from households under the supervision of social workers who made staying in school until 18 a condition for receiving welfare benefits. Students have no choice but to stay in school, but drop out as soon as this "string" can no longer be pulled. I have heard of cases where, ironically, a child could afford to stay in school only by virtue of the dependancy allowance in the welfare payment. Upon passing 18, the allowance ceased and the family could no longer afford to keep the child in school. Such cases, however, are probably quite rare.

(4) Recruitment. Perhaps the major cause of so many drop-outs in the twelfth grade is the necessity of spending the entire last half year bargaining with recruiters. All the armed services visit high schools and attempt to recruit enlistees. The BIA representatives begin to discuss a student's "plans" with him. He is tempted with relocation in Chicago or Los Angeles, or with a vocational course in Dallas or Okmulgee, or with a course at Haskell Institute. He is offered college scholarships. But no one ever considers discussing with him a way in which he can settle down near his kinfolk and use his high school degree to earn a decent living locally. To the youngster who wants to "bug out" of the Cherokee community (and there are a number who want to do just that) the high school degree is a golden gateway. To the Cherokee youngster who wants to stay in the place he calls home and earn a decent living, however, the high school degree is not perceived as an advantage. To the contrary, it is a liability, for to earn the degree is to open the door to the salesmen.

There is no doubt that high school graduates tend to migrate away from Cherokee settlements, and that settlements are handicapped by the loss of this talent (Table 22). Yet undetermined are the proportions of high school graduates who leave (a) voluntarily and permanently because they want to escape from Cherokee life, (b) voluntarily but temporarily, having yielded to the high pressure salesmanship only to become disillusioned with their new life and anxious to return home, or (c) involuntarily, because they cannot make a living at home or cannot get a job commensurate with the amount of education they have had.

---

[3] This is a distinctive dialect, but not highly regional nor conspicuously "substandard" as is the "Pine Ridge dialect" spoken by Sioux. See Wax and Wax, 1964.

Most of the Cherokee high school graduates who remain within Cherokee communities do not have jobs different from those held by workers with a fourth grade education. For those many Cherokees who do not want to leave home and wish to see their home community prosper, there is as yet no demonstrated advantage to receiving a high school education. Cherkoees know that white people say a good job and a good living depend upon a good education, but they see no indication that this is true for Cherokees. They see only too well that a high school education is a ticket to far off places, and for most Cherokees this is irrelevant.

TABLE 22.—EDUCATION OF CHEROKEE MIGRANTS, AGES 20 TO 30

School years completed [1]	8	9	10	11	12	12+
Men	1	4	2	6	14	2
Women	0	1	2	1	8	3
All	1	5	4	7	22	5

[1] Median=12.2.

Remarks: 12 of the men in this sample are in the armed services. I have included them as migrants because it is my impression that the percentage of Cherokee servicemen who resume Cherokee community life is very low. There are 2 reasons for this. First, the armed services are an easy escape from Cherokee life, and many Cherokees become career men for this reason. Within authoritarian military life social status yields to rank and life is clear cut. Furthermore, if one enlists at 18, one can retire at 38, return to Cherokee country in the prime of life, and enjoy a pension. Few people who enter the urban blue-collar class can aspire to such security at so early an age. Second, very often Cherokees marry non-Cherokee women while in the service. Quite a few Cherokees married German girls while serving in Germany. Few of these women are willing to settle for a life in rural Oklahoma.

Parenthetically, the number of Cherokees accepted for military service is surprisingly small. I do not know whether selective service finds them physically unfit because of deficient education, or whether Cherokees have hit upon some clever way to evade the draft.

Literacy in English

Figures on the high rate of functional illiteracy (i.e. completion of less than four years of school) among Cherokees have already been cited in this report. Literacy is not a function of schooling alone. It is a function of reading, and what Cherokees read is in part a function of what there *is* to read in this part of the country. Eastern Oklahoma is not a reader's paradise. It is a part of the United States which manages to get along quite nicely without books. In a typical county seat such as Stilwell, the available literacy resources are as follows:

(1) Newspapers: An Adair county paper is published weekly at Stilwell. Newspapers from Muskogee, Tulsa, and Oklahoma City are available daily.

(2) Magazines: The usual drugstore assortment is available for sale. These are largely "pulp" types featuring romance, true confessions, crime, men's adventures, and sports. News magazines are rarely stocked.

(3) Books: Again, there is the usual drugstore selection of paperbacks, heavy on westerns and detective stories. The prestige lines of literary paperbacks are not available. There is no place in Adair, Cherokee, Delaware, or Sequoyah counties that sells hard bound books other than the Bible. To my knowledge, there is no library.

In an effort to gather some data on reading habits, the following questions were included in the survey questionnaire: Do you take a newspaper? Do you take any magazines? What books do you have? These questions were asked during the pre-test of the questionnaire and in the first community surveyed, but were later excised, in part because the questionnaire was too long and in part because the questions seemed unproductive. A single Cherokee word serves usually for "newspaper," "book," and "magazine." In English, Cherokees refer to magazines as "books." This made the survey questions difficult to translate.

Very few Cherokee families subscribe to a daily newspaper. Slightly more families subscribe to weekly county newspapers, and still more people buy copies in town. County newspapers carry no national or international news and very little state news from outside the county. They are full of church news, neighborhood events, and announcements of births, marriages, deaths, and hospital admissions and dismissals. While I lived at Cherry Tree, it seemed to me that Cherokees read all accounts of automobile accidents, fires, thefts, etc., but neither read nor talked about anything abstract or organizational, such as local politics, accounts of city council meetings, and the like.

A great number of families receive agricultural magazines such as "Grit" and "Farmer and Stockman," but are not paid subscribers and do not read them with much attention. Romance and true confession type magazines are very popular. Women buy them, read them, and pass them on, so that the same copy makes its way from household to household. While the titillating, romanticized, yet moralisitc view of life presented in these magazines is compatible with some of the fantasies and aspirations that young Cherokee women have, I think the attractiveness lies not so much in content as in style. These magazines and comic books are the only American publications that communicate in the personal, direct, concrete style of folk people. There is a lively circulation of comic books among youngsters. Men read little and do not buy "men's" magazines.

Hardbound books other than Bibles are very seldom found in Cherokee homes. Bibles are universal and are read diligently. Many Cherokees read the Bible for a little while every evening, and Cherokees who happen to be literate in both Cherokee and English often will compare passages from the Cherokee and English versions of the Bible to ferret out the real meaning of a verse. Children bring textbooks home from school, and I know of some children, especially girls, who bring library books home from school and read them with great enjoyment. Religious pamphlets, tracts, and newsletters are very popular among those who have been influenced by younger "progressive" Cherokee preachers. Time after time I have noticed that Cherokees are generally curious about books. Adults pick up their children's school books and leaf through them at home. When public meetings are held at school houses, adults will quietly leaf through whatever literature is within arm's reach while they listen to the discussion. Apart from school material, however, what is there in print in a direct, simple, forceful English prose style that would interest or be useful to most Cherokee readers?

I conclude that the Cherokee's disinterest in reading is more a commentary on the available literature than on Cherokee ability. I sense a potential interest in reading which remains latent for lack of books.

INCOME

Level of income

The results of the Carnegie Project (CP) survey make it very clear that Cherokees are extremely poor. The median income of Cherokee households falls $700–$750 below the so-called "poverty level" of $3,000 per rural household. Considering that Cherokee households are larger than white households, the per capita income is even lower (Table 23).

The Bureau of Business Research of the University of Oklahoma publishes Oklahoma income figures each year. Comparison of income of Cherokees with the average income in the counties in which they live, reveals that in no county do Cherokee enjoy even half the average household income (Table 24).

When the income of Cherokees is compared with the income of whites, the difference is even more extreme. Nor have the CP figures on Cherokee income been distorted by the small sample size. They agree remarkably with data released by the Bureau of Business Research (Tables 25 and 26). There is an enormous gap between white and Cherokee earnings. This gap is no less great in Adair county with its small, urban, middle-class, white population than it is in Cherokee county where there is a large, urban, middle-class population. It is obvious that Cherokees are consistently underemployed and underpaid.

During the past decade, Cherokee per capita income has increased due to the transition in eastern Oklahoma from subsistence farming to a cash economy. In 1952 Cullum estimated Cherokee median income at $231 and $195 on the basis of two different sets of data. Per capita income is now two to three times higher. This difference in per capita income does *not* mean that Cherokees are any better off; if anything, they are less well off than they were a decade ago. Dependency upon wage earning is relatively the same. Cullum reported that 130 out of 479 households, or 27%, received income only from wages or salaries. In communities surveyed in 1963, between 13% and 47% of households were limited to wages and salaries. Likewise, the number of households depending on welfare is relatively the same. In 1952 Cullum reported that 120 out of 472 households, or 25%, were dependent upon welfare payments. In communities surveyed in 1963, between 21% and 33% of households have welfare as a sole source of income. Whereas in Cullum's survey a full quarter of Cherokee households were supported by self-employed farmers, almost no Cherokees farm now.

At present, hardly a third of Cherokee households are able to support themselves, and over one-half of Cherokee households are wholly or partially dependent upon welfare (Tables 27 and 28). Cherokees are now able to earn only 57% of the total amount of money flowing into Cherokee households. Twenty-nine percent comes from welfare (Table 29) :

In 1952 Cullum was startled to discover that 30% of the heads of families were not in the labor market and that another 30% were unskilled laborers. In the communities surveyed in 1963, between 42% and 66% of heads of families were not in the labor market and from 12% to 58% of males between 18 and 59 years of age were unskilled laborers (Tables 30 and 31). Less than 60% of Cherokee wage earners hold steady jobs. The rest are employed on an odd-job, short term or seasonal basis (Table 32). Cherokees working within the six counties of the Cherokee Nation seldom are able to find semi-skilled or skilled jobs apart from work on "Indian project" road crews. Cherokees in skilled jobs at prevailing wages for skilled labor commute to Ft. Smith, Arkansas, or Tulsa.

TABLE 23.—CP SURVEY DATA ON CHEROKEE INCOME, 1963

Community	Median income per household	Median income per capita
Hulbert, Cherokee County	$2,300	$500
Cherry Tree, Adair County	2,300	500
Marble City, Sequoyah County	2,250	650
Bull Hollow, Delaware County	2,250	450

TABLE 24.—CHEROKEE AND COUNTY AVERAGE PER CAPITA INCOME, 1963

Community	Median Cherokee per capita income [1]	Median county per capita income [2]	Cherokee income as percent of county income
Hulbert, Cherokee County	$500	$1,510	33
Cherry Tree, Adair County	500	1,310	38
Marble City, Sequoyah County	650	1,456	45
Bull Hollow, Delaware County	450	1,783	25

[1] Source: CP Survey.
[2] Source: Bureau of Business Research, University of Oklahoma, 1963.

TABLE 25.—MEDIAN FAMILY INCOMES OF CHEROKEES, WHITES, NEGROES

County	Average	Cherokee	Negro	White	Cherokee as percent of white
Adair	$3,543	$2,279	------------	$3,930	59
Cherokee	4,251	2,898	$1,635	4,570	63
Delaware	4,404	2,720	1,535	4,750	58
Sequoyah	3,708	2,189	1,235	3,940	56

Source: Bureau of Business Research, University of Oklahoma, 1963. The BBR cites figures only in the following categories: "Total," "Negro," and "Indian." I approximated the income of whites by the following formula:

$$\text{White median income}=\frac{(TP)\,(TI)-(\text{Ind. }P)\,(\text{Ind.}I)+(\text{Neg. }P)\,(\text{Neg.}I)}{(\text{white }P)}$$

where I=median income
P=population (from 1960 census)
T=total

TABLE 26.—WHITE AND CHEROKEE PER CAPITA INCOME

County	White per capita income	Cherokee per capita income	Cherokee income as percent of white income
Adair	$1,090	$465	43
Cherokee	1,270	590	47
Delaware	1,320	555	42
Sequoyah	1,090	445	41

Remarks: Data in this table are based on the bureau of business research figures cited in table 25. Per capita income was derived by dividing the figure for white family median income by 3.6, the 1960 U.S. census figure for Oklahoma rural nonfarm families. If allowance were made for the number of rural farm families and urban families, the white per capita income would be even higher. Per capita income of Cherokees was derived by dividing the bureau of business research figure for Indian family median income by 4.9, the average number of inhabitants per household in the CP survey.

The figures in this table do not agree with the per capita income figures from the bureau of business research used in table 24. The figures in table 24 were released by the BBR as cited. In my opinion, the figures in tables 25 and 26 are more accurate, particularly in view of the startlingly close correlation between BBR and CP figures for Cherokees.

TABLE 27.—SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME, 1963

[In percent]

Community	Wages	Wages plus welfare	Welfare	Welfare plus social security and/or pension	Social security and/or pension
Hulbert, N=30	13	27	33	17	10
Cherry Tree, N=32	47	22	22	6	3
Marble City, N=19	32	32	21	2	4
Bull Hollow, N=20	40	25	25	5	5

TABLE 28.—DEPENDENCY UPON COUNTY WELFARE, 1963

[In percent]

County	Indians on welfare rolls [1]	Indians in county population [2]
Adair	31	23
Cherokee	23	20
Delaware	36	19

[1] ¼ or more Indian blood.

[2] Self-identified on 1960 census.

TABLE 29.—SOURCE OF TOTAL DOLLAR INCOME OF COMMUNITY

[In percent]

Community	Wages	Welfare	Social security + pensions	Miscellaneous
Hulbert, N=25	39	42	18	5
Cherry Tree, N=30	64	19	11	1
Marble City, N=17	60	29	10	1
Bull Hollow, N=17	64	25	8	
All [1]	57	29	12	2

[1] Weighted. See remarks under table 10.

TABLE 30.—HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN LABOR FORCE

[In percent]

Community	Househeads in labor force
Hulbert, N=29	34
Cherry Tree, N=36	58
Marble City, N=19	53
Bull Hollow, N=20	50

TABLE 31.—OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CHEROKEE MALES, 18 TO 19 YEARS OF AGE

[In percent]

Community	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	Self-employed	Unemployed	Not in labor force
Hulbert, N=27	41	0	7	0	17	15
Cherry Tree,[1] N=33	58	9	6	12	6	6
Marble City, N=17	12	24	12	2	24	24
Bull Hollow, N=16	44	19	2	0	0	31

[1] Plus 3-percent professional in Cherry Tree.

TABLE 32.—STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF CHEROKEE MALE WORKERS

[In percent]

Community	Steady employment	Seasonal, odd-job, or short-term employment
Hulbert, N=12	54	46
Cherry Tree, N=23	53	47
Marble City, N=9	78	22
Bull Hollow, N=11	64	36

Unemployment and underemployment

Unemployment among Cherokees is extremely high. The figures presented in Table 31 actually minimize the degree of unemployment in Cherokee settlements, due to Cherokees' willingness to accept short term employment at very low pay. Although only 6% of the men working in Cherry Tree are listed as unemployed, a number of men in that community listed as unskilled laborers take jobs at which they barely break even. Several of them depend on a local straw boss to tell them when there is work at a chicken packing plant in Lincoln, Arkansas. On the two or three nights per week when there is such work, they commute many miles to work all night at $1.00 per hour. In the same community several men work full days at a local fruit orchard for $4 to $6 per day. Some men in Bull Hollow work in a chicken packing plant in Missouri for comparable pay. Throughout Adair and Cherokee counties many men are irregularly employed by nurseries and orchards at $.85 to $1.00 per hour. If Cherokees refused work paying less than the federal minimum wage or not providing minimum provisions for the safety and insurance of employees, the unemployment rate among Cherokees would be from 50% to 100% higher than it is at present.

Within the population surveyed, there was only one professional (employed by the Carnegie Project), no white collar workers, no sales personnel, no foremen, and only one entrepreneur (the proprietor of a hamburger stand). No Cherokees in the sample, except for the one individual employed by the Carnegie Project, hold jobs for which a high school degree is a necessity. Illiterate Cherokees and high school graduates share the same end of identical shovels.

In spite of the generally low level of education among the Cherokees, it is apparent that there are more skilled and educated Cherokees within the communities surveyed than there are jobs to utilize these skills. The unemployment rate is highest among educated Cherokees in their twenties.

Cherokee economic adjustment

The survey results reveal that as an ethnic group the Cherokees subsist on the crumbs of the regional economic "pie." The Cherokees constitute part of this larger economic system, but the Cherokee economy is a unique subsystem within it. Cullum mentioned that "conditions such as those here reported have prompted the questions 'How can they manage to live on so little income?' . . . These questions have been put frequently by the writer to those who live along side [the Cherokees]. The answer invariably has been, 'I don't know' or 'that's something I've never been able to figure out' " (1952: 15).

The answer is simple and twofold. First, as the regional economy of eastern Oklahoma moves rapidly from subsistence farming to a cash base, the Cherokees lag behind. At any point in time since the 1920's, the Cherokee economy has been relatively more dependent upon subsistence farming than the wider region. Second, the Cherokee economy is, *in its own terms*, a highly efficient economy based on the maximum utilization of known resources and sharing among relatives (see Wahrhaftig 1965a: 7). It is difficult to use wages and dollars to illustrate the working of this economic system, but if we consider where and how Cherokees build their houses, the mechanics of the system are clear.

For most Americans housing is a major expense. Cherokees are able to avoid the bulk of this expense, paying little or nothing for land, usually nothing for labor, and perhaps 50% of the "normal" expenditures for materials. In rural Cherokee settlements, between half and two-thirds of houses are built on the remnants of lands allotted to Cherokees in 1907 (Table 33). About a quarter of the remaining houses are built on land which has been purchased and "restricted." In the majority of cases (an estimated 75%) land is purchased on land allotments elsewhere. In many of the remaining cases, neighboring Indians sell land to Indian purchasers at low prices. The motive for such sale and purchase is to live closer to one's kinfolk. In rural settlements, about 80% of households are rent free. Since Cherokee settlements are located in marginal lands and are generally very isolated, the rent paid by the remaining 20% to 25% of households is low.

Traditionally, and as recently as the 1930's, homes were built by a *gadoogi*—a community work group. This was a little like an old fashioned barn raising. At present, an estimated 75% or more of Cherokee homes are built by the owner and his close kin. Skilled workers in the settlement either contribute their time or provide it at a discount. Sturdy second hand material is often used, culled and trimmed so as to be as structurally sound as new. Frequently, attractive and livable houses are built from 50-year old log houses, torn down, reassembled, and sheathed with modern materials.

TABLE 38.—STATUS OF CHEROKEE RESIDENTIAL SITES

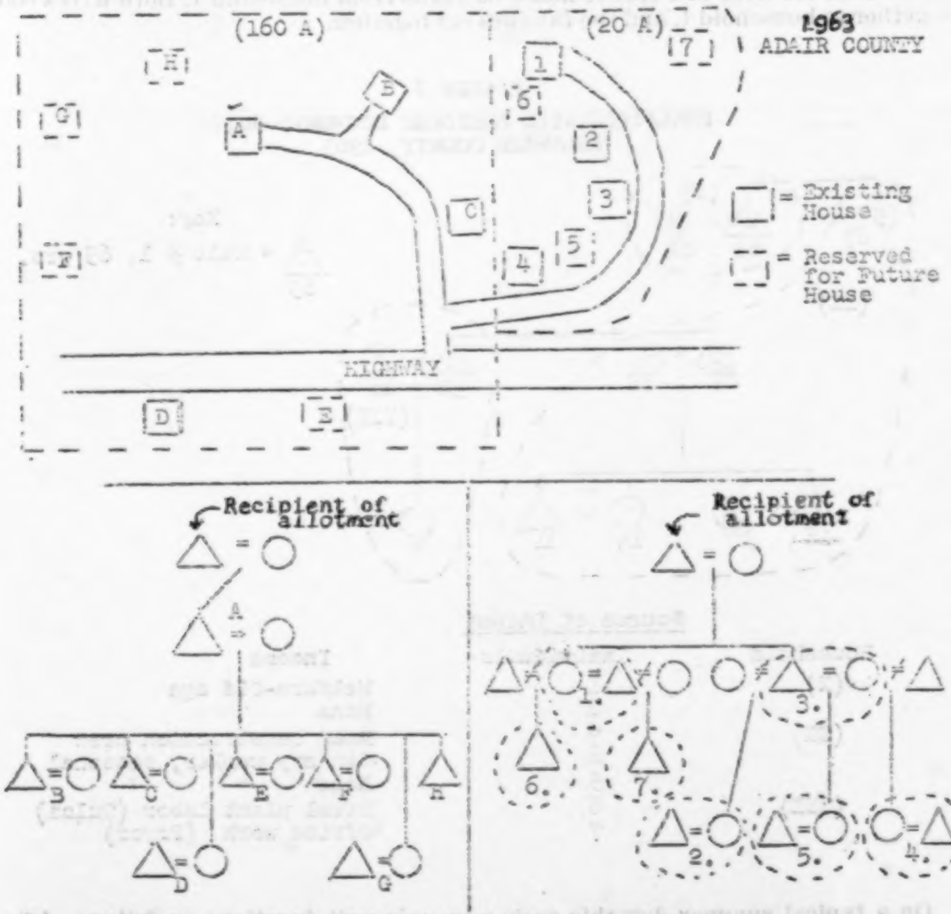
[In percent]

Community	Allotted	Purchased and restricted	Being purchased through welfare	Rented	Tribal property (former "government land")
Hulbert, N=30	46	6	3	40	0
Cherry Tree, N=32	66	16	0	11	11
Marble City, N=17	48	24	12	18	0
Bull Hollow, N=18	61	33	0	0	5

Cherokees are able to house a great number of people on their remaining land allotments by sharing them. The array of people living on any given tract of allotted land is likely to be bewildering. A typical example is shown in Figure 1, based on an actual and very typical arrangement in Adair county. On this tract are situated the household of the elderly heir of the tract, the households of two married sons and one married daughter, and sites which have been chosen by the remaining sons and daughters, all of whom are "temporarily" either in Chicago or Dallas. On the neighboring tract of land are located households of the widow of the original allottee and her present husband, the daughter of the allottee by an earlier marriage and her husband, the son of the widow of the allottee by a former marriage and his wife, and the allottee's widow's son's step daughter and her husband. In addition, a site has been reserved for the children of the widow of the allottee by her present marriage. Confusing as this may sound, the principle is clear and characteristically Cherokee. The residents on a given tract of land will "lend" any unoccupied portion of it to any relative who requests it and will reserve portions for any offspring who might want it in the future.

FIGURE 1

UTILIZATION OF TWO TRACTS OF ALLOTTED LAND BY TWO KIN GROUPS



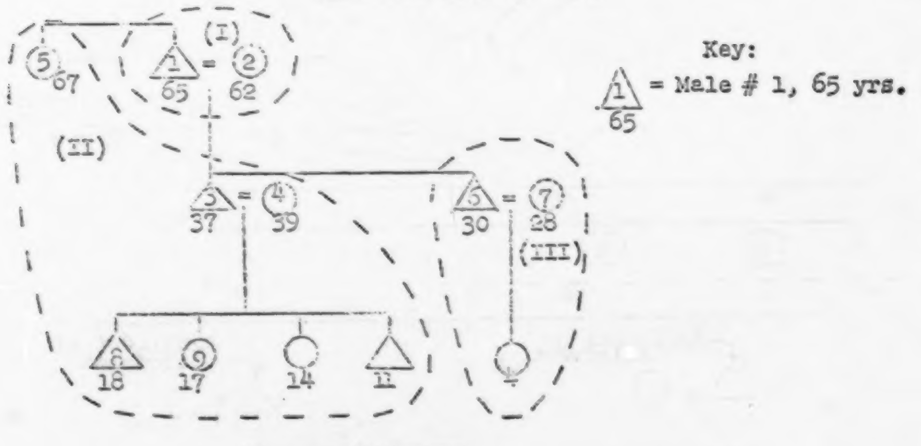
The economic adjustment of the Cherokee tribe is as viable as could be expected under the circumstances. This economic adjustment is made possible by (1) marginality, in terms of the general regional economy, and (2) the cohesiveness of Cherokee settlements. Both of the factors which contribute to the effectiveness of the Cherokee tribal economy also contribute to its vulnerability.

It is paradoxical that a community should benefit by general economic marginality, but even the case of housing illustrates this point. First, if the community as a whole were less marginal, land values would increase. Rents would be higher, fewer families would be able to live rent free, and a greater percentage of income would be spent for rent. Purchase prices would be higher, possibly so high as to prohibit land purchase by poor kinfolk, and there would be more inducement to sell allotted lands in moment of financial crisis. Second, decreased marginality would imply a higher income for skilled labor. With increased housing costs, fewer skilled builders could afford to donate their time to building houses for their poor neighbors, and the cost of constructing and maintaining houses would increase. If the sharing patterns of the settlement were not disturbed in the face of decreasing marginality, the distribution of higher wages might offset increasing costs. At present, however, marginality and cohesiveness are mutually supportive and the effectiveness with which Cherokees deploy their limited economic resources depends upon settlement cohesiveness.

The present cooperative arrangements of Cherokee settlements are not only efficient but also elastic and intricate. Examination of a typical Cherokee economic unit is illustrative (Figure 2). For most purposes this social and economic unit is composed of three separate households. Two of the households contain nuclear families and the third contains a nuclear family plus the father's elderly aunt. The three households constitute a single cohesive unit, or a patrilineal, patrilocal extended family. Household I lives on a tract of allotted land. Household III lives in a trailer house 50 yards from household I. Both wives cook together in household I, and the families eat together.

FIGURE 2

CHARACTERISTIC CHEROKEE ECONOMIC UNIT
BELAWARE COUNTY, 1963



Source of Income

Household	Individuals	Income
(I)	1	Welfare-Old age
	2	None
(II)	3	Road construction crew
	4	Cannery worker, seasonal
	5	None
(III)	6	Steel plant labor (Tulsa)
	7	Office work (Pryor)

On a typical summer day this socio-economic unit functions as follows. After breakfast the head of household III and his wife commute to work, leaving their daughter in the care of her grandmother at household I. The head of household II drives to work (taking his wife's brother, who does not figure on the diagram). His aunt takes care of his children if they are at home. The head of household I drives to the home of household II to take his daughter-in-law (and other kinfolk who do not figure in the diagram) to her job at a distant cannery. He waits at the cannery and drives her back in the evening.

The above pattern is not an old arrangement. Household III lived in Tulsa and moved back to the settlement only a few months ago. They find that by commuting to the jobs they had, they can live as well and participate more fully in the settlement. They have been incorporated into an effective arrangement with respect to the other two households in very short time. From this example, several general principles emerge:

(1) Every adult performs a useful economic role. If the elderly women #2 and #5 could not care for children and watch over the household, the earnings of women #4 and #7 would be lost.

(2) Economic arrangements are flexible and can incorporate new households with ease.

(3) Individuals are more or less "rationally" allocated in households where they can be most useful and best cared for. Elderly woman #5 could move into household I or III if the women therein were incapacitated.

(4) The arrangement promotes maximum security for all concerned. If the young men in households II and III were to relocate with their families, woman #5 would have to be added to the welfare rolls. Similarly, if the children of household II were to relocate, their parents eventually would be on welfare. The members of household I never needed welfare assistance until they were too elderly for wage labor. Had they had jobs which provided pensions or social security, they would not be on welfare now. Finally, it is obvious that as long as Cherokee settlements retain their cohesiveness, *there are no nuclear families or "broken" homes*. None of the three households illustrated have any independent economic functions. The combined earnings of all members of the extneded family are barely enough to maintain a simple, decent life.

Actually, the settlement as a whole constitutes an economic unit; everyone in the settlement is kin to everyone else. The arrangements which bind these three housholds at the moment could be extended to include any other household, and at secondary levels do so. Individuals #3, #4, #6, and #7 all pool rides to work with members of other households. In times of need, members of the settlement use the settlement church for distributing food, clothing, firewood, labor, and cash to other needy households.

Of the four settlements surveyed, Hulbert is the least marginal and least cohesive. It illustrates well the cost Cherokee settlements pay for loss of cohesion. Many young workers have migrated into the city and, bereft of their support and care, many of their elderly dependents have had to move into town. As a result, there is less cash income, less "helping out" within the settlement, and far more households which have had to request welfare assistance.

The elasticity associated with economic marginality is bound to diminish in the future. Since the progression into a cash economy is probably irreversible, Cherokee settlements will not continue to lag behind the general population of the region in this respect. As this happens, Cherokees will be more vulnerable to fluctuations in wages and employment. With this growing dependency on fluctuating cash incomes, there will be *increased* need for the communal support provided by cohesive settlements. This is to say that unless cash can be channeled into settlements and distributed according to traditional sharing patterns, Cherokee households will be in for serious economic troubles.

The economist Karl Polanyi said of just such situations as this:

"Not economic exploitation, as often assumed, but the disintegration of the cultural environment of the victim is then the cause of degradation. The economic process may, naturally, supply the vehicle of destruction, and almost invariably economic inferiority will make the weaker yield, but the immediate cause of his undoing is not for that reason economic; it lies in the lethal injury to the institutions in which his social existence is embedded. The result is a loss of self-respect and standards, whether the unit is a people or a class, whether the process springs from so-called "culture conflict" or from a change in the position of a class within the confines of a society" (1944: 157).

The Cherokee economic situation in relation to other tribes

Cherokees living in country settlements within the Cherokee Nation have considerably less income than neighboring whites but considerably more income than neighboring Negroes. Both whites and Negroes are better educated than Cherokees. This suggests that the poverty of Cherokees is not directly attributable to lack of education. Negroes in the area are somewhat less a rural population than Cherokees, and Cherokee resources are no greater than those of Negroes. Such comparison of income and educational levels of the regional ethnic groups suggests that social status accounts for the difference in income, with discrimination causing greater unemployment and underemployment of Negroes.

There are no great variations in income among the Five Civilized Tribes (Table 34). The median income of all five tribes is much higher than that of Negroes in the region. The income of Choctaws appears to be somewhat higher than that of Cherokees, and the income of Chicasaws considerably higher or considerably lower, depending on the county under consideration. It is likely that isolated rural communities in each tribe have much the same level of income. Creeks and Chicasaws are closer to industrial jobs in cities than are Cherokees, and Choctaws have more access to regional extractive industries, particularly lumber mills. The Cherokees are the poorest of the five tribes and are most marginal to the developing industrial economy of the state. This differential ability of the tribes to benefit from the growing industrialization may well widen this gap in median income.

TABLE 34.—INCOME OF INDIANS AND NEGROES IN 5 CIVILIZED TRIBES AREA

County	Tribe	Total income	Indian income	Negro income
Adair	Cherokee	$3,543	$2,279	
Cherokee	do	4,251	2,898	$1,635
Delaware	do	4,404	2,720	1,535
Mayes	do	5,191	2,638	1,488
Sequoyah	do	3,708	2,189	1,235
Atoka	Choctaw	3,503	2,803	1,582
Bryan	do	3,790	3,148	1,776
Coal	do	3,927	2,883	1,627
Choctaw	do	3,162	2,891	1,635
Haskell	do	3,729	2,677	1,511
Latimer	do	4,585	2,549	1,438
LeFlore	do	3,747	3,339	1,883
McCurtain	do	3,743	3,498	1,973
Pittsburg	do	3,381	2,936	1,656
Pushmataha	do	3,739	3,056	1,725
Creek	Creek	5,044	2,571	2,099
Hughes	do	3,497	2,810	1,585
McIntosh	do	3,257	2,735	1,543
Muskogee	do	4,097	2,478	2,003
Okfuskee	do	3,302	2,419	1,365
Okmulgee	do	4,127	2,837	1,600
Tulsa	do	5,794	3,365	2,723
Bryan	Chicasaw	3,790	3,148	1,776
Carter	do	4,036	1,838	1,490
Garvin	do	5,517	3,261	1,840
Johnston	do	4,506	3,237	1,826
Marshall	do	5,037	3,825	2,158
Murray	do	4,287	3,015	1,701
Pontotoc	do	4,219	2,637	1,488
Seminole	Seminole	4,630	2,807	1,842

Source: Bureau of Business Research, University of Oklahoma. "Family Median Incomes" Oklahoma ,1963.

It is difficult to obtain fully comparable figures, but in most cases the income of western Oklahoma Indians is substantially above that of the Five Civilized Tribes (Table 35). Western Oklahoma Indians have more access to jobs in Oklahoma's larger cities and benefit from the higher wage scale of this more developed area of the state. In addition, western Oklahoma tribes have more resources than do Cherokees. They have retained more land, and in Osage county where the land has great value, this is an enormous asset. The 1960 median family income from tribal land resources was reported by the respective BIA offices to be as follows for the tribes of the area: Cheyenne, $400; Kiowa, $720; Pawnee, $200; Pottawatomie, $600; Shawnee, $200. The Cherokees have been stripped of all such resources.

TABLE 35.—*Income of the Five Civilized Tribes and tribes of western Oklahoma, 1963*

Tribe:	*Income*
Cherokee	$2,189–$2,898
Choctaw	2,677– 3,148
Chicasaw	1,838– 3,825
Creek	2,419– 3,365
Seminole	2,807
Caddo	2,682
Osage	10,236
Tribe—Continued	
Ponca	$3,466
Commanche	3,988
Kiowa	
Sac & Fox	3,595
Pottawatomie	
Shawnee	

Source: Bureau of Business Research, University of Oklahoma, 1963.

Cherokees are poorer than most Indians in the United States. Some large, isolated tribal groups, such as the Navajo, have a much lower per capita income, but in comparison with a cross section of "reservation" Indians, Cherokees are nearly at the bottom of the list (Table 36). The Cherokees live in a rich environment and participate in a regional economy within which most find employment. By comparison, the Sioux live in economic isolation, far from work in towns and cities, and derive most of their income from federally subsidized jobs. Furthermore, it appears that Sioux have a higher rate of unemployment than Cherokees. Yet, despite the fact that the Sioux have a reputation of being an impoverished tribe, there is very little difference between Cherokee and Sioux per capita income. The comparison indicates that Cherokees gain no advantage from their proximity to urban centers and employment in the general Oklahoma labor pool. Bluntly, it indicates that a few Sioux employed by the government at federal minimum wages and careful exploitation of limited tribal land resources bring the Sioux more per capita income than the Cherokees can earn despite a larger percentage of their available manpower employed at prevailing wages.

TABLE 36.—FAMILY INCOME OF SELECTED AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES, 1960

Tribe	Median family income	County	State
Navajo	(1)	Various	New Mexico, Arizona.
Cherokee	$1,530	Adair	Oklahoma.
Do	1,941	Cherokee	Do.
Do	1,653	Delaware	Do.
Apache	1,718	Gila	New Mexico.
Blackfoot	2,716	Glacier	Montana.
Chippewa	2,198	Cass	Minnesota.
Do	1,654	Becker	Do.
Do	2,928	Bertram	Do.
Do	2,281	Rolette	North Dakota.
Crow	2,278	Bighorn	Montana.
Cheyenne	1,972	Rosebud	Do.
Sioux	1,775	Shannon	South Dakota.
Do	1,338	Todd	Do.
Do	2,000	Sioux	North Dakota.
Shoshone	2,801	Fremont	Wyoming.
Ute	2,756	Unitah	Utah.

[1] In rural settlements, less than $750.

Source: Data selected from U.S. census for 1960 as indicated in remarks under table 29.

MIGRATION AND RELOCATION

In the discussion of Cherokee population, I argued that loss of Cherokee population through migration has been sustained by fragmented, marginal settlements and those settlements displaced by creation of lakes and dams, not by the cohesive settlements constituting the core of the Cherokee Nation. The gross figures on population already presented tend to bear this out, as do the results of the survey itself.

Cullum collected data on the "relocation of household members," and relevant Carnegie Project survey data have been arranged to make comparisons possible (Table 37). Cullum's figures showed that ony 17% of Cherokee households had lost membership. Our survey shows a comparable loss, suggesting that there has been no substantial increase in migration in the last decade. Each survey shows that less than two of every one hundred adult Cherokees relocate. Even this estimate may be too high, for there is no test of the permanency of "permanent relocation." I met many Cherokees during the course of the survey who had lived in distant states for ten years or longer before resettling on their homeland.

TABLE 37 —RELOCATION OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

Community	Number of households	Number of persons 18 years of age or more	Number of households having adult former members permanently away	Number of adults permanently away
Hulbert	30	72	8	11
Cherry Tree	31	85	5	14
Marble City	18	50	4	9
Bull Hollow	18	50	2	2
All	97	257	19	36
All (above data "scaled up" to 4 communities of 100 families each)		1,060	74	142
Cullum	479	1,091	83	190

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION—SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATION

The questionnaire devised for this survey contained questions on a variety of subjects such as intermarriage, household composition, marketing and visiting patterns, children's peer groups, etc. Informants found these questions hard to deal with, and the data obtained were not uniform enough for compilation. I brought to the Carnegie Project survey a number of ideas and assumptions from previous experiences in administering questionnaires in Middle and South America. One such assumption was that the household is a basic social unit, and that something of the relationship of household to settlement can be learned by inquiring about the interaction that members of the household have with members of other households within and outside the community. Among Cherokees, however, *the household is not a meaningful social unit.* This I discovered by asking questions that turned out to be inappropriate.

The term "broken home" has been much used recently. The term describes a household in which children are living without one or both of their biological parents. It is often assumed that socialization within a broken home has deleterious effects on the child. To the extent that the nuclear household is the basic social unit of a community, this might possibly be so. Among Cherokees the nuclear family is not a basic unit and there is so much interaction among related households in a settlement that, in effect, every neighboring adult is a "parent." This is reflected in current Cherokee kinship terminology and is plainly visible when one lives in a Cherokee home and observes the interaction. In any such culture where the basic social unit is the extended family, the concept of a broken home is misleading.

While Cherokee settlements function as large kin groups composed of one or more extended families, the majority of Cherokee households do contain nuclear families. Extended family households are rare, especially if childless households are included. If one defines a broken home as a nuclear family with one or more parents missing, then broken homes are common. The high percentage of broken homes, however, does not indicate breakdown of the family group. It indicates only that in a cohesive Cherokee settlement, the household group is of such little importance (i.e., so little differentiated from other households) that there is little necessity of bringing into the household a new spouse or other adult who could function *in loco parentis* (Table 38). When only households containing children are tabulated, Cherokee household structure is seen more clearly. Sixty percent of households with children are nuclear. Almost one-third are extended households, either in the sense that both parents are present together with other relatives, or in the sense that other relatives within the household care for the children in the absence of one or both parents. Only 7% of Cherokee households are, in fact, "broken" (Table 39):

TABLE 38.—RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS

Community	Childless households		Immediate family only		Immediate family plus others		Broken homes	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Hulbert, N=30	7	23	13	43	2	7	8	27
Cherry Tree, N=32	5	16	19	59	2	6	6	19
Marble City, N=19	3	16	8	42	1	5	7	37
Bull Hollow, N=20	6	30	9	45	3	15	2	10
All		21		47		8		23
Total (percent)		68						
Cullum (percent)		68				16		16

TABLE 39.—BROKEN HOUSEHOLDS

Community	Nuclear		Extended		Extended—1 or more parents missing		Broken	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Hulbert, N=23	13	57	2	9	6	27	2	9
Cherry Tree, N=27	19	70	2	7	3	9	3	7
Marble City, N=16	8	50	1	6	6	37	1	6
Bull Hollow, N=14	9	64	3	21	1	7	1	7
All		60		11		20		7

INTERMARRIAGE

Because most Cherokees in their 50's or older have been married more than once, because Cherokee households are very mobile, because children sometimes leave their parents to live with other relatives, and because parents occasionally "give" children to other relatives to raise, it proved very difficult to gather information on Cherokees living outside Cherokee settlement households. Information on intermarriage was particularly difficult to obtain. The information gathered in the survey suggests the following:

(1) Very few intermarried couples manage to remain functional members of Cherokee settlements. Of the 100 households surveyed, one household in Bull Hollow contained a white wife and one household in Cherry Tree contained a white husband. Intermarried couples tend to be pulled out of Cherokee settlements by whites and pushed out by Cherokees.

(2) There is some, but not a high rate, of intermarriage. In the absence of accurate genealogies, which we could not take the time to collect, it is impossible to say how much intermarriage takes place. There is evidence to suggest that Cherokees marry whomever is near and attractive upon becoming of age. Young people in Cherokee settlements have little interaction with non-Cherokees, but many Cherokees who are way from home in government boarding schools in their teens and early twenties often marry Indians of other tribes, and Cherokee servicemen often marry girls where they are stationed.

(3) A young Cherokee away from home will marry a white with considerably more freedom than he would in his home community. Within the Cherokee Nation, the tendency is for all siblings to marry whites or for none to intermarry. Whole families may thus "disappear" into the general population, but individual "assimilation" through intermarriage is rare. Local intermarriage is indicative of the circumstances and social experience of whole kingroups rather than of individuals.

REFERENCES CITED

Bureau of Business Research, 1963: "Family Median Income, State of Oklahoma, 1963" Bureau of Business Research, University of Oklahoma.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs:
  1851: *Annual Report.*
  1897: *Annual Report.*

Cullum, Robert M., 1953: *The Rural Cherokee Household, Study of 479 Households within Fourteen School Districts Situated in the Old Cherokee Nation.* Muskogee Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Oklahoma (mimeo).

Debo, Angie, 19??: *The Road to Disappearance.* University of Oklahoma Press.

Hall, Tom Aldis, 1934: *The Socio-Economic Status of the Cherokee Indians.* Unpublished MA thesis, University of Oklahoma.

Polanyi, Karl, 1944: *The Great Transformation.* New York, Rinehart.

Spoehr, Alexander, 1947: *Changing Kinship Systems.* Anthropological Series, Field Museum of Natural History, Vol. 33, No. 4.

Underwood, Ross: 1965: (untitled) draft of PhD dissertation to be submitted to University of Oklahoma.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census:
  1937: *The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska.*
  1960: *Seventeenth Census of the United States.*

United States Department of the Interior, 1899: *Annual Report.*

Thornton, Sarah, 1926: *A History of the Cherokee School System.* Unpublished MA thesis, University of Oklahoma.

Wahrhaftig, Albert,
  1965a: *Indian Communities of Eastern Oklahoma and the War on Poverty.* Carnegie Project (mimeo).
  1965b: "*An Anti-Poverty Exploration Project.*" Journal of American Indian Education, Vol. 5, No. 1.
  1965c: *The Tribal Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma.* MS.

Wax, Murray, and Wax, Rosalie, and Dumont, Robert, 1964: *Formal Education in an American Indian Community,* Society for The Study of Social Problems, Oakland University.

AN EXPERIMENT IN CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION, 1962–1967. REPORT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO [SUPPORTED BY A GRANT OF THE CARNEGIE CORP.]

(By Sol Tax, project director, Robert K. Thomas, field director, June 1968)

PREFACE

This experiment, which we came to refer to as the Carnegie Cross-Cultural Education project, originally was an attempt to discover how to communicate literacy from one culture to another utilizing the American Indians as a special case. In the course of the project, the field program among the Cherokee of Eastern Oklahoma became a particularly important learning experience complementing the attempt on a national scale to develop communications in reading and writing English through *Indian Voices*, a national Indian newsletter.

This report has been divided into three parts. In Part I we restate the original aims of the project. In Part II we review chronologically the specific activities it involved and describe relevant aspects of Indian affairs (nationally and among the Cherokee specifically) prior to, during, and after the project. In Part III we discuss what we learned both in terms of the ideas which initiated the project and in terms of the ideas which evolved from it, i.e. how our thinking changed over the five-year period.

I. THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL

One of the major problems involved in the world's transition from older systems of socio-economic organization to modern industrialism is the shift from communication (including education) primarily via *verbal* means, to *reading* and *writing*. Directions and instructions of all kinds, news and background information, the record of major events (including research findings) . . . all require considerable skill in reading and writing by individuals and nations that would partake fully of the economic blessings of modern industrial society.

One sees the growing interest in reading ability on every hand. UNESCO devotes enormous energy to the problem, as does every underdeveloped land that wishes to cease being underdeveloped. Note, for example, the excellent monograph, *Investment in Education*. The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate, and Higher Education in Nigeria (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria, 1960), which devotes major attention to the problem of training teachers for the young as a crucial step toward modernizing this new nation. In this country, the U.S. Office of Education, under the leadership of Ambrose Caliver (recently deceased), has increasingly turned its concerns to the problem of adult illiteracy in this most developed of all industrial nations. It was inevitable that President Kennedy's *Alianza por Progreso* program should include as a component, if not crucial, part of its effort, educational activities necessary to help Latin American peoples learn how to use the new economic resources to be placed at their disposal. Not to be overlooked, either, is the increasing concern in this country with the effectiveness of public schools' methods of teaching reading.

Reading and writing are crucial to industrial society because they represent *efficient* means of transmitting information. Unfortunately, we have made relatively little progress toward discovering efficient means of *teaching* reading and writing to adults (although there have been, and will continue to be, advances in *effectiveness* of teaching methods). Today, as in the past, every effort to upgrade the reading skill of a class of people, or of a nation, involves the personal attention of a teacher to a relatively small group over a considerable period of time. There is evidence that television increases efficiency, by permitting a single teacher to reach many hundreds or even thousands at a time (Nell Peerson, *An Experiment, with Evaluation, in the Eradication of Adult Illiteracy by Use of Television Instruction* . . ., Florence, Ala.: Florence State College, August 1961). It is also clear that television is simply not available in those parts of the world most in need of modernizing.

This, then, is the problem proposed for attack: To determine whether it is possible to devise more *efficient* means of teaching reading-writing to peoples in underdeveloped areas by making use of newer concepts of materials preparation (so-called "programmed" materials and other self-study techniques). This project is conceived of both as a problem in the education of adults, and as an anthropological problem in bridging the gap between cultures. For language and the meaning of any educational process are bound inextricably into the fabric of a culture; to teach across cultural lines involves a cross-cultural problem.

We now have considerable experience in dealing with problems of acculturation and the conflict of cultures; we have also considerable experience in teaching adult illiterates the basic elements of reading-writing; we are also now beginning to gain skill in and understanding of the new programmed-instruction techniques. All three of these trends will be brought together in this project.

We have also at hand within this country people (American Indians) who constitute both a *prime*, and a *difficult*, set of subjects for this experiment in cross-cultural education. The cultural traditions of American Indians (including their languages) are different from those of the dominant European-American culture brought to these shores and developed by the white man; Indians are in many ways cut off from this dominant culture which surrounds them; they also reject many aspects of it. At the same time, they increasingly see a need to relate to the dominant culture, and mastery of English is a prerequisite to such relation. It must be emphasized that there are a number of Indian cultures and languages, each of which offers a slightly different kind of problem in terms of this experiment in cross-cultural education.

Expected results

If the procedures described below should be successful, two kinds of results are anticipated:

First—immediately, a major contribution should have been made to the improvement of the lot of the American Indian. He will not only have been taught how to read and write English, but also in the process he will have been taught some content that will also contribute to his mastery of his social milieu.

Second—more important, there will have been developed a series of techniques and devices, and a set of principles, useful in the cross-cultural education problem in large parts of the world; e.g., Latin America and Africa. We shall learn something about teaching any language to the natives of any underdeveloped country.

Why the Indians?

It was noted above, briefly, that the American Indians offer both a *prime*, and a *difficult*, subject for this experiment. A bit more detail is in order:

The obvious point, of course, is the American Indians are *at hand*. They are in this country, frequently near urban centers, they are thus geographically accessible at relatively little cost (as opposed to, e.g., natives of Peru). They have also in recent years begun to exhibit a new kind of concern for their collective self-improvement, as evidenced in the proceedings of the 1961 American Indian Chicago Conference. There is among Indians a growing interest in schemes of self-improvement, and it is believed that enough Indians would be interested in this experiment to permit good experimental working conditions.

American Indians also represent a *difficult* subject precisely because they do not embrace the dominant white outlook. Their culture is less concerned with striving and individual competition than the middle class white culture; their drives and motivations do not ordinarily include mastery of intellectual education. In these respects, the American Indians are similar to the natives of many underdeveloped countries.

Further, Indian adults need education. They are largely deprived of the advantages of white-type schools; relatively few, even among the youth, have graduated from high school. They are thus not by tradition ready to accept easily a mode of communication—reading-writing—that to the dominant society is "natural." It will be difficult to teach large numbers of Indians to read-write English, whatever means is used; success with the Indians augurs well for the success of the techniques, devices, and principles evolved from this experiment with other underdeveloped peoples.

The procedure

Following initial analysis and planning, it is anticipated that a set of study materials be developed which have the following characteristics:

1. They will be self-administerable.
2. They will be equally useful for individual, or for group study.
3. They will be highly flexible and progressive in difficulty, so that individuals can begin at any point according to their ability in reading-writing and skip sections as appropriate, and thus move as rapidly as individual ability permits.
4. The content of the lesson-material will be inherently interesting to the potential students.

It is planned at this point to put out the lesson material in the form of booklets following the format model of a magazine, and enmeshed in other material of interest. This will not be a periodical in the sense that the contents are topical; it is believed, however, that the magazine format offers the greatest flexibility. Once a series of lesson booklet-magazines has been used for one group, it could of course, be redated (on the cover) and used again with another group.

One aspect of the magazine format that seems particularly attractive is a "letters" column, a device which offers two advantages: (1) It permits the "students" to participate in the preparation of the magazine, and also to express their own views to a wide audience, by writing comments on content. (2) It offers an alternative feedback channel. Students who might cease preparing the formal lessons for some reason will nonetheless be encouraged, by means of a "letters" column, to offer reactions and comment. In this way, the research operation can have a double means for determining the effectiveness of instructional materials.

Once material is developed, it will be tested intensively with a small group—probably only 25 initially. Simultaneously, the lesson plans will be distributed to all interested (to an upper limit of a few hundred), who will be permitted to participate to the extent of working through the lesson material on their own. The small group selected for intensive analysis will be followed closely in their progress, and revisions in material can be made as experience determines. The effectiveness of the materials developed can then be tested on larger groups, which—on the basis of pre- and post-tests—will indicate the amount of reading-writing skill, and information, acquired.

The whole program will move in a series of simultaneous stages. Once materials are prepared for the first few lessons, testing with a small group can begin, while the preparation of the next few lessons proceeds. Following initial revision of the first few lessons, these can be administered to a larger group while the second set of lessons are being tested with a small group and being revised, etc.

At each stage of the process, as larger and larger numbers should be reached, evaluation of both achievement and efficiency of technique will continue.

It is planned also to attempt to develop study materials in such a way that they can be equally useful for both individual and group study. Here "group study" does *not* mean group *discussion*—but the joint activities of several people—members of the same family, or a group of friends, etc.—engaged each in studying English, moving together through study material and thus enhancing each other's motivations by means of shared experiences.

Anticipated outcomes

As implied above, two kinds of results are anticipated, to be treated as follows:

Perhaps most important from a long-range viewpoint will be the research findings on efficient and effective techniques of teaching literacy. These will be offered to appropriate scholarly journals and/or presses for publication in journal or book form, and to interested agencies like UNESCO.

Second, there should be available a set of learning materials immediately adapted to the needs of American Indians, and useful with further adaptation to the needs of peoples in underdeveloped countries over the world (i.e., for teaching *English* to such peoples). Special efforts will be made to seek out private or public agencies that will continue to implement the program of education for American Indians already begun, making use of the study materials as they will have been developed.

In addition, these materials will be offered without charge for adaptation and use by UN- and UNESCO-sponsored projects, government agencies, church groups, educational publishers, and any other qualified agency or institution capable and desirous of using these materials in literacy programs elsewhere in the world.

Programed material

It must be emphasized that the word "programmed" is used in this proposal in its generic sense. It is not intended to start with a particular theory of learning and a specific, predetermined method. Rather, the program contemplated would start with clearly defined terminal goals, and would seek to discover the theory and method most appropriate at each teaching point. At one point, the learner might work through a Skinner series of small-step, reinforced-response frames; at another, he might read several pages; at still another, he might work through a "scrambled-book" series of items; in still other spots, the actual writing of essays of varying length, for criticism by an instructor, would be crucial to acquiring skill in self-expression. Underlying the choice of method at each teaching point would be *both* (a) the demands of the content to be learned at that point, and (b) the reaction of the learners to particular methods. Variations would be tested with both these factors in mind, throughout the entire program.

In summary, what is proposed is an experiment in teaching-learning: the devising and testing of study materials in alternative forms, to determine which particular forms of the material are most effective. Central is the preparation of two or three variants of a new text, in programmed forms; various means of *utilizing* the programmed material need also to be tested and evaluated.

Staffing and organization

The Project will need a relatively small staff, for a relatively long time (five years). It is anticipated that a full-time staff of only three people (including secretarial assistance) will be required; remaining project needs can be supplied on a part-time basis.

The project will be under the overall direction of Mr. Sol Tax, Professor of Anthropology, who will devote about a fifth of his time to this activity. Technical consultation on study materials will be supplied by Mr. Leonard S. Stein, Director of the Home-Study Department; only about 10% of his time will be needed.

Full-time staff will consist of: (a) a Co-Director, a professional anthropologist, (b) a writer, an expert on creating study materials, and (c) an executive secretary, competent to arrange for production of printed materials.

In addition, part-time temporary assistants will be needed from time to time, to assist both in research and in reading correspondence-study lessons submitted by the subjects.

The chief burden of responsibility for the day-to-day activities of the project will fall, of course, on the Co-Director. Included among those under consideration for this post are Mr. Robert K. Thomas, Ph. D., Professor of Anthropology, at Montieth College of Wayne State University; and Miss Nancy O. Lurie, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

II. CHRONOLOGY

The Cherokee, 1963

As the project got underway, it became necessary to localize research. The newsletter and correspondence courses were to be offered nation-wide, but other aspects of the direct action and research programs focused on the Cherokee-speaking Indians of eastern Oklahoma.

Legally the Cherokee are all individuals, and their descendants, whose names appear on the tribal rolls of 1907, and school officials are required to consider as Cherokee all individuals who are one-fourth or more Cherokee "by blood." However, not all members of either of these populations are *socially* Cherokee. The project dealt with those individuals who speak and live as Cherokee, in Cherokee settlements, and interact with one another as members of a Cherokee tribal community. Cherokees always have lived in distinct settlements, in small groups of people who are related by kinship and participate in a common ceremonial institution (see below). The most reliable way to determine the membership of such settlements is to place the burden of decision upon the established members of the settlements.

Thus the tribal Cherokee population of eastern Oklahoma as referred to in this report represents neither the entire population of individuals who are legally Cherokee nor the entire population of individuals who are Cherokee "by blood." Rather the project dealt with a core population of approximately 9,500 Cherokee (by the above definition) living in Adair, Cherokee, Delaware, Mayes, Sequoya, and Muskogee counties in the Ozark region of eastern Oklahoma plus an estimated 10% or 900–1,000 individuals who are marginal to Cherokee settlements either geographically or socially, but who were raised within these settlements.[1]

These Cherokee constitute approximately 20% of the population in the area. Although whites are rapidly leaving the area, white economic holdings are increasing. Formerly this was a predominantly farming area; today little farming is done there and many Cherokee are engaged in wage labor or are on welfare.[2]

The results of a survey of "The Social & Economic Characteristics of the Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma" make it very clear that Cherokee are extremely poor. The median income of Cherokee households falls $700 to $750 below the so-called "poverty level" of $3,000 per rural household. Considering that Cherokee households are larger than white households, the per capita income is even lower. Despite great variations between settlements and between households within settlements,[3] in general, the Cherokee economic level has been worsening. The general impression is that it is also considerably lower than in 1907 (when the roll was taken) or in the 1880's when the independent Cherokee Nation was in full flower. By 1963 when the project moved into eastern Oklahoma, the Cherokee were withdrawn from white society, responding to it only when prodded and trying to live as best they could, given the circumstances. They had learned to survive in these conditions by avoiding entanglements, and ignoring what went on outside their communities, poverty, and the lowering educational level.[4]

---

[1] From A. Wahrhaftig, "The Tribal Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma" (to be partially included in "Population Trends in American Indian Communities" by Thomas and Wahrhaftig, *Current Anthropology*, mid-1969), a description of population distribution and process.

[2] See R. Thomas and A. Wahrhaftig, "Redskins and Rednecks: The Myth of Cherokee Assimilation" (to be published in *Trans-Action*) for an analysis of the overall social structure of Eastern Oklahoma as a system of ranked ethnic groups, and a general hypothesis from this data of the overall American social structure.

Though geographically Cherokee are intermixed with whites, their households and settlements are socially separate from and structurally different than those of whites living in the area. In general, there is a low level of education. Cherokee is the primary language in most Cherokee households; white neighbors do not know Cherokee and disapprove of Indians speaking it. Many Cherokee, and especially older Cherokee, are unable to read or write Cherokee, and similarly many do not speak English.[5]

The Cherokee community in Oklahoma was selected for our case study largely because they are one of the largest blocks of native Indian language speakers in the country and are the only American Indian tribe with a strong literate tradition.[6] In 1870 when they were an independent people and ran their own school system, the Cherokee speakers were a better educated people than the surrounding whites and better educated than they are today.[7]

Through the project we set out to discover why there were less educated in the 20th than in the 19th century, help revive their former literature tradition, involve them in the public schools (in which they could participate because they are not on a reservation), and test the linguists' notion that if a people are literate in their own language, they will easily become literate in another.[8]

For the most part, Cherokee live in relatively long-established, small rural settlements into which white households have moved, so that the Cherokee are no longer exclusive inhabitants of any geographic district. Membership in a Cherokee community is defined on the basis of kinship ties, not residence. There are some 50 such social groups which range in size from 30 to 60 households and anywhere from 150 to 300 individuals; but in most cases many more individuals than actually reside nearby are functional members of these communities, returning from time to time, particularly for special events. Each such community is focused around a small Baptist Church or an aboriginal ceremonial organization (ceremonial fire) which holds ceremonial dances at the central ceremonial ground. Very few communities have both church and fire,[9] but households of both may be interspersed in any neighborhood.

Although sharp differences in dialect also often differentiate one community from another, these small communities are tied together in larger structural units through intermarriage, common church or ceremonial fire affiliation, and other activities. Those communities which have ceremonial fires are grouped into four societies, some of which include three or four fires, others only one.

---

[3] For a detailed account of the variables involved, see A. Wahrhaftig. "The Social and Economic Characteristics of the Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma" (to be included in "Population Trends in the American Indian Communities" by Thomas & Wahrhaftig, *Current Anthropology*, mid-1969).

[4] Contemporary American Indian communities are placed in a colonial relationship and controlled by an establishment of the larger society outside their communities. For further discussion see: R. Thomas, "Powerless Politics", *New University Thought*, Winter, 1966–67, an analysis of the political behavior of a tribe which relates to its total environment—natural and human—in terms of colonial structure.

[5] See Thomas & Wahrhaftig, "Indians, Hillbillies, and the Education Problem" (prepared for publication in *Anthropological Perspectives*, S. Diamond, ed., Basic Books) for a description of recent centralization of power in the American institutional framework as well as the social and especially educational effects of this trend in small, integrated social systems.

[6] See Thomas, "Sequoya" (to be published in *Sing-Out*) for an account of the life of the inventor of the Cherokee syllabary as an example of the native westernization of an Indian tribe and the present-day consequences of that historical movement.

[7] For further detail on the Cherokee literary tradition, see John K. White, "On the Revival of Printing in the Cherokee Language", *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 3, No. 5, December, 1962.

[8] For a cross-cultural and historical survey of literacy, see David W. Christenson, "The Expansion of Literacy", unpublished MA, University of Chicago, 1965.

[9] For a comparison of those situations in which Folk societies have integrated outside religious institutions into the matrix of their ongoing life as opposed to those where this integration has not been allowed to take place, and the social consequences of both processes, see R. Thomas, "The Role of the Church in Indian Adjustment", *Kansas Journal of Sociology*, Winter, 1967.

Traditionally Cherokee leadership was closely connected with ceremonial life. Whereas leaders within the Baptist Church formally functioned only with regard to religious concerns (and informally on other matters), within the four ceremonial societies the traditional leadership structure functioned formally with regard to other matters as well as religious. However, by 1963, these four societies functioned only in their ceremonial capacity. Over the years, one of the four had approached the government in a variety of ways, each time trying to obtain the necessary government approval and legislation for various non-religious ventures. In the 1930's they tried to obtain a loan, under the Oklahoma Welfare Act; there were attempts at land consolidation schemes, etc. But by 1963, after repeated and unsuccessfull attempts to cooperate with government agencies, they had given up. The chief of the largest and most powerful of the four explicitly stated that the organization could not achieve anything through cooperation with whites and that the members could depend only on their own religion.

The Eastern Immigrants, an informal association of several communities, the function of which was to press claims and to act in the political and legal spheres in behalf of the Cherokee tribe, also tried to push an area of claims against the United States government, and they also failed. There was also one government-sponsored organization, the United Ketoowa Band (analogous in function to tribal councils elsewhere), a "paper organization" with which the government dealt as if it were an organization of Cherokee communities. In any case, it was only a minority of Cherokee who thought of themselves as connected with any of the four ceremonial organizations, the Eastern Immigrants, or the United Ketoowa Band. The even smaller minority of activists were active only in approaching the power structure to work with them and were not able to become effective.

By 1963, the men in their thirties were trying to break the pattern of nothing's being done, and a chasm was forming between them and the older Indians. The younger men felt that Indians, as individuals, had to go ahead on their own rather than trying to approach the government as a group. A split was also beginning to develop with the teen-agers in high school. They were developing negative images of themselves and the Cherokee, and were "buying out" of Cherokee society. They did not want to be associated with or conceived of as "those country Indians". In the small towns there developed a loose group of young people who were alienated from both white and Indian society; juvenile delinquency was becoming increasingly noticeable.

The Project, 1963–1967

Throughout the project there was a consistent core of activities which were initiated in the following order:

1. From the outset: Production of *Indian Voices* and sporadic related research (including several analyses of mailing lists, contact with community leaders in order to expand and improve mailing coverage, etc.) was carried out.
2. October, 1963: Albert Wahrhaftig began the pure social and cultural research; later evaluative/feedback research was conducted.
3. November, 1963: The *Cherokee Nation Newsletter* which eventually became closely tied in with *Indian Voices* was started.
4. Spring, 1964: The Cherokee radio program was started.
5. Summer, 1964: Pure linguistic research was begun with Willard Walker.
6. Fall, 1964: Direct experimentation in literacy and programming was begun, consisting of:
    (a) courses—adult literacy in Cherokee, at Cherokee churches and public schools; and student literacy in Cherokee, primarily in the public schools.
    (b) materials—the programmed *Primer* and bi-lingual reading material.

Around this core of activities, it was necessary (1) to respond to the Cherokee community as it developed, eventually into a social movement tied to literacy, and (2) to educate whites through courses in Cherokee, work with agencies, provision of interpreters, etc.

The project moved to Oklahoma in September, 1963, and Albert Wahrhaftig began his survey on which he spent over a year.[10]

---

[10] See "The Tribal Population of Eastern Oklahoma" and "The Social and Economic Characteristics of the Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma", as noted above.

Indian Voices had already been started. *Indian Voices* is a monthly publication[11] which provides information in English about Indians for Cherokee and Indians nationally. Further, it defines English as a functional vehicle and integral part of a general American Indian social movement now underway. For Cherokee specifically, the use of English to tie the Cherokee into a broader Indian horizon helps re-define English as well as increase fluency in English.

During the course of the project we promoted the idea of this newsletter as a vehicle for the expression of Indian opinion, a forum for interchanging ideas, and a needed communicative device among American Indians. A major undertaking was the revamping of the mailing list originally taken over from the American Indian Chicago Conference.

Work with the Cherokee as a community was carried out with regard to (1) involving them in the educational process, and (2) improving communications between Indians and whites. A partially tested hypothesis of the 1930's, that if a people are literate in their own language, they will easily become literate in another could also receive a new test.

For these purposes, the project helped Cherokee start a small newspaper in the Cherokee language, the *Cherokee Nation Newsletter*, and a twice-weekly, Cherokee-language radio program of national news along with announcements of events in the Cherokee community and advertising. Early in 1964 these were well underway; many Cherokee were actively involved in the newspaper and as announcers, musicians, speakers, etc. in the presentation of the radio programs; and the project staff had come to understand the general situation of the Cherokee community.

Willard Walker joined the project in June, 1964, and soon began to work on the morphological and phonemic analysis of the Cherokee language.[12]

In July, several staff members came to Chicago for a conference on the language problems faced by the Cherokee. Anthropologists seeking to help Indians improve their command of English compared notes with linguists who were studying speech problems that confront various social groups in urban areas.

Raven McDavid, Associate Professor of English at the University of Chicago, was the main representative at the conference of a linguistic project which surveyed speech characteristics of various social groups in the Chicago area in order to determine how and to what extent the dialects of different groups interfere with their economic and educational progress.[13]

The major conclusions of the conference were stated as follows: "An individual is most likely to improve his speech and reading skills if his particular social group places real value on these accomplishments. The crucial factor in basic education is not a matter of techniques. Rather it is a matter of gaining social support for the undertaking. The individual will learn with the least amount of difficulty when such learning has a positive function in relationship to the values system of the group to which he belongs. If the values of the group do not support specific desirable forms of learning, the value pattern will somehow have to be modified. If the individual, or his group, does not see any particular use for a knowledge of English, the motivation to learn to read and speak it well is not likely to be very strong."

In the fall, the project staff was still considering teaching English; discussion centered on inserting a test for English reading skill in *Indian Voices* and developing a way to work into lessons. We were also planning the population research which Dr. Samuel Stanley carried out in the summer of 1965.

---

[11] The first issue called *Indian Voices* came out on April 1, 1963. Until then the publication was called the *AICC Newsletter* which in turn grew out of The American Indian Chicago Conference. All American Indians across the nation were invited to this conferheld at the University of Chicago in 1961. (See Nancy Lurie, "The Voice of the American Indian", *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 2, No. 1, February, 1961.)

[12] See *The Cherokee Language* (to be published as a Smithsonian Information leaflet) a sketch of the Cherokee language with relevant ethnogrophic and historical data, text, analysis, translation, and bibliography.

[13] The staff members of the Cherokee project explored the possibility of tying in with McDavid's research among others in their effort to find data which could be used for comparative purposes. Although an appropriate urban community could not be found, at the conference comparisons were informally made with research being carried out by McDavid and others in lower-class Negro communities in Chicago. In the fall of 1966 and winter of 1967, research (as yet unpublished) was carried out among the Chickasaw which provides comparative data for that included in "The Social and Economic Characteristics of the Cherokee Population of Eastern Oklahoma".

We provided interpreters for politicians and advertisers, and were talking with the people at the public health hospital about the possibility of developing medical reading materials in Cherokee (which never did materialize).[14]

In September, the Cherokee Baptist convention was held, and we discussed developing Sunday-school material in Cherokee. We were also talking with personnel at television stations about television programs in Cherokee, and to the school administrators about a possible course in Cherokee literacy which indeed began in the late fall.

Throughout the fall and winter we discussed offering an accredited course in Cherokee at the local college for teachers and social workers. (Northeastern Oklahoma State is housed in quarters of the old Cherokee Nation's Seminaries in Tahlequah). Our relations with the Oklahoma Indian affairs establishment had not been good from the start, and our attempt to offer a course at the college precipitated a public display against us.

Due to the previous involvement in Indian affairs of some of the project staff (for example in the American Indian Chicago Conference), the Oklahoma establishment had defined us as communists[15] even before our arrival there. We were spoken of as "outsiders" from the University of Chicago even though at the start, all but one of the staff were Cherokee. The Indians were told that the Cherokee staff members were unpatriotic and cooperating with the communists.

By treating us as a communist subversive group, the establishment operated in two subtle ways rather than making a public outcry. First, they frightened the Indians to keep them from working with us. For years before our arrival the Cherokee had feared the local politicians and avoided anything that was not sanctioned by whites. Thus, although individual Cherokee came to wish us well and some to work with us privately, they did not come formally or institutionally, and we had to work without the "official" sanction of the Cherokee community.

Overall there was not much participation in the project by Cherokee during the first year, partially because our offices were located at the college, but primarily because the Cherokee were afraid of the whites' reaction. Although Cherokee very much wanted to teach their own language in school (as indicated by the fact that several Cherokee did work with us publicly in the classes), in this period most were unable to participate openly. For example, the Cherokee Baptists could not work with us officially without getting themselves into trouble with the Southern Baptist Association on whom they depended for money. Thus many of our approaches were turned aside.

Second, the politicians after thus trying to block us from accomplishing anything, then countered us by doing what we had tried to do. For example, before Albert Wahrhaftig went out to do his survey, the Indians had been warned against talking with him because he was a communist and would get them in trouble. A year later, the Oklahoma establishment came out with two larger-scale, socio-economic surveys of the area to counter our supposedly false statistics. However, in fact there was not much difference between their statistics and ours.

They also blocked our attempts to offer a college course in Cherokee, but in this case could not offer one themselves. Also, since the Baptists were blocked from working with us, nobody could produce the Cherokee language Sunday school material which many Cherokee wanted.

At any rate, by late 1964 we were expanding *Indian Voices* and the Cherokee Newsletter, and we had also started some research on high-school drop-outs.

Although most of the activities which involved institutional structures were countered, as some could not be, we tried to start them. For example the local schools wanted courses in Cherokee, and the establishment could not successfully stop them.

Early in 1965, The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was developing their work in Oklahoma and asked us to arrange for their state office to speak to all Cherokee. We used the *Newsletter*, radio broadcasts, and sent out some of our staff to explain the OEO program to the Cherokees. In May, about 500 people attended a large meeting they held and, at OEO's request, we provided interpreters.

At the meeting, OEO personnel told the Cherokee of their willingness to do whatever the Cherokee wanted and the Cherokee became very interested. They started holding meetings to decide on what to do. Then we heard from OEO that anything the Cherokee did would have to be done as part of the total county effort. So we explained this in the *Newsletter*, on the radio, and to individuals.

---

[14] Although a large portion of our time was spent on actions that did not come to fruition, in this report we have focused primarily on those activities which produced a "final product," not the process whereby they were carried out and not including most of the activities which were tried but did not materialize.

[15] For discussion of similar allegations with regard to others working with American Indians, see forthcoming report of the Robert Kennedy hearings conducted earlier this year.

OEO encouraged people to come to county meetings and guaranteed that interpreters would be present. Indeed, there was an interpreter at the first county meeting; but not at the second (see below, page 24). By one means or another, the Cherokee members were squeezed off the board of the OEO county Community Action Program. In the meantime, however, OEO had unofficially assured us that the Cherokee could plan a project on their own.[16] The main radio announcer, who was also the chief of one of the four ceremonial societies and a very prestigious man, spoke to many people about the possibilities, gathered support, selected communities, and had the project ready to begin. But OEO did not fulfill its side of the agreement.[17]

The staff was successful in its attempts to inform the Vista workers in the area, but all other efforts to work with the local OEO failed. In 1965, the project tried to introduce Cherokees to the War on Poverty by encouraging them to participate on county committees and by providing interpreters. The project also tried to articulate Cherokee aspirations with the OEO effort by helping Cherokee plan a tour of OEO and other Indian projects elsewhere. Both failed to develop. We feared that these failures spelled the end of our project, but the Cherokee did not react that way. They were beginning to see us as at least *for* the Indians (even if we were communists) and instead became angry with OEO.

At this time, the Cherokee also wanted the rest of the New Testament translated into Cherokee; this we could not accomplish. However, the *Cherokee Primer*[18] was out and was being used in the schools. From its first printing in March, 1965, until the end of the project, it was distributed to some 1,500 Cherokee speakers. Programming English as a second language would have involved transmission of meaning, an impossible task for the project to have undertaken. Meaning was subsumed in all our experiments with programming which were restricted to the acquisition of skills—essentially learning the alphabet. All who used the *Primer* were Cherokee speakers learning only to read and write.

The active literacy program, beginning in the autumn of 1964, included four staff-taught Cherokee literacy classes in three schools for Cherokee-speaking children; three school programs in Cherokee literacy which used the *Primer* but not our staff; adult and children's classes in Cherokee literacy in Cherokee churches using the *Primer*; and adult Cherokee literacy programs in three schools using the *Primer*. Courses were also taught in cooperation between our staff and the Adair County OEO staff. (Key Ketcher, a Cherokee teacher, is writing an evaluation of this program.)

We tried to keep the Adair County "Poverty Committee" to establish a Cherokee and English reading room and depository of Cherokee documents, but sufficient money could not be gathered.

By the Spring of 1965, Willard Walker had completed his research on Cherokee morphology and Albert Wahrhaftig was continuing his survey. The radio program had been expanded and we had a column in Cherokee in one of the local newspapers.

The reading material which was made available in both Cherokee and English included a pamphlet on hospital procedure in cooperation with USPHS, completed in 1965 and later revised and reprinted by Cherokee community and staff members; *Cherokee Stories* by Willard Walker and Watt Spade which included stories in both Cherokee and English; and a bi-lingual summary of two survey reports (*The Cherokee People Today*) by Albert Wahrhaftig. Matching articles appeared in the *Cherokee Nation Newsletter* (in Cherokee) and *Indian Voices* (in English).

Intensive educational work with the Public Health Hospital included the bilingual book on hospital procedure; lectures to hospital staff on Cherokee culture and advice to them on social-medical research; arrangements for Cherokee participation in the hospital open-house; and, especially important, establishment of a Cherokee advisory committee.

---

[16] In response, we helped the Cherokee develop the program described in Albert Wahrhaftig's "Anti-Poverty Exploration," *Journal of American Indian Education*, October, 1965, which also contains an analysis of the dynamics of "planning" in Cherokee society.

[17] For an analysis of what Indians can expect from the response of "benevolent colonialists" and conversely what American society can expect of tribal peoples caught in a colonial situation see Clyde Warrior, "Poverty, Community, and Power," *New University Thought*, Summer, 1965. Also see, A. Wahrhaftig, "Community and the Caretakers," *New University Thought*, Winter, 1966–67, a description (written for the consideration of OEO planners) of Cherokee life, and the structural and cultural factors important among the Cherokee as a social group continuing over time.

[18] A programmed textbook of the Cherokee syllabary by Willard Walker *et al.*

At that time we also tried but were unable to establish an advanced high school Cherokee literacy course. On the other hand, we participated in planning a folk festival; although this was not directly related to literacy, there was an expressed interest, and the festival promised to be an institution in which whites and Indians could participate together.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was cooperating with us to some extent. Throughout the project, sporadic educational work was carried out with BIA personnel, state social workers, etc. The BIA was also hiring some Cherokee speakers. One BIA community worker who was located nearby sent material to the *Newsletter* and used the radio broadcasts to publicize available scholarships, etc.; this association with the BIA ended when he transferred to the OEO.

By the summer of 1965, we were fully functioning *with* the Cherokee community. The radio program had become very popular and had been extended to a full hour. People were coming to the station to take part in the program which became an important community focus. Dr. Sam Stanley was carrying on his population research, and by the fall, the Murray and Rosalie Wax education project had moved into the area.[19] Among numerous activities, some of the most successful included an archive for Cherokee material and a ceremonial house which was started in Blackgum. The Wahrhaftig Foundation financed the Blackgum Cherokee settlement of Sequoya County in building what has become a combination ceremonial winter house and Cherokee school.

The stores in Tahlequah were employing Cherokee speakers, and signs in Cherokee were being displayed by Tahlequah and Stilwell merchants. Signs in Cherokee were made for local store fronts and others for business establishments saying "Cherokee Spoken Here". The project indirectly encouraged the making of signs in Cherokee which outlined the medicare program and others which advertised products for merchants. We also assisted a national television network in filming a program on poverty in Oklahoma. However, when the hospital hired a new health education worker, it ignored the project's advice to select a Cherokee.

In the fall, we provided interpreters for the Cherokee National Holiday. Formerly the existence of Cherokee-only speakers was denied by whites, and speaking Cherokee was not considered important by either the Eastern Oklahomans or by the Cherokee themselves. This gesture therefore amounted to a recognition on the part of whites that there are monolingual Cherokee speakers and that there is a legitimate, viable society where Cherokee is the language.

It was also in the nature of the project that we became involved in a great variety of Cherokee activities and problems, such as assisting the Ketoowa Society in arranging a formal peace-making between the Osage and Cherokee tribes, which was absolutely imperative in the Indian view. Such wider involvement became necessary if we were to be sufficiently loose to deal with the community from day to day and continue the project; it also enabled us to accomplish as much as we did. A striking example of such involvement occurred in the summer of 1965. A white school teacher in one of the large Indian areas north of Tahlequah was arrested while fishing, but "beat the case." Shortly thereafter Cherokee deliberately began to fish in large parties in that area. It seemed to us that a new community confidence had come into play, perhaps directly influenced by the project. (They were using material in their own language and seeing that not all Cherokee activities could be put down.) but due also to many factors such as anger over their rebuff from OEO.

At the end of October, several meetings were held by the Indians in an attempt to organize large hunting parties of about fifty men on the order of those formed for the fishing expeditions. The radio announcer-chief, Fines Smith, was asked for assistance, and the project advised that it might be best to seek the help of a lawyer. One was brought in with assistance from the project but after the two months it took him to prepare the case the Indians began to hunt individually; and one of them, John Chewi, was arrested for hunting out of season and without a license. A test case was made and the American Civil Liberties Union became involved.

Cherokee began holding more meetings which as they progressed began to focus on wider issues and complaints. From these beginnings the five County Cherokee organization began to evolve. It weakened from September, 1965 until September, 1966 when the head, Fines Smith, left: but new leadership then developed. It was renamed the Original Cherokee Community Organization (OCCO) and by the summer of 1967 was again strong and even in 1968 is going extremely well (see below, pages 29ff).

---

[19] The project cooperated with the Waxes in their study of Indians in public schools in the Cherokee area, and also participated in workshops for American Indian students, teachers, etc. A number of other activities only indirectly related to literacy ran throughout most of the project. In the Summer of 1965, Walker, Thomas, Wahrhaftig, and Wandruff carried out an evaluation of Head Start programs in Oklahoma and elsewhere. In February, 1966, Wahrhaftig evaluated the Community Action Programs in Blue Ridge, South Dakota.

Meanwhile, from the autumn of 1965, and extending to the end of the project in 1967, a number of community development projects related to literacy were carried out: Five County Cherokees were assisted in organizing a literature committee to publish books in Cherokee and an editorial committee for the *Cherokee Nation Newsletter*, and in preparing for the turnover of our programs to local communities. The newly organized all-Oklahoma Indian Veterans Organization was also assisted in arranging possible foundation grant support of newsletters and radio programs in Indian languages in other sections of Oklahoma.

So-called community "integration", the redefinition of Cherokees to whites and whites to Cherokees, involved Cherokee language courses for adult English speakers. The *Primer* is of no use to people who do not already speak the Cherokee language, and pedagogical materials for learning Indian languages are rather scarce. Some are availabie which deal with Navajo, Cree, and Quechua—all of which have appeared quite recently. Therefore, texts were developed by Willard Walker. These include *Conversational Cherokee*,[20] two dictionaries, and a bibliography of the Cherokee language used in Oklahoma and at Wesleyan College (by Walker) with students learning Cherokee. These materials and a Cherokee-English dictionary, in process of revision, are among the major products of the project.

Oklahoma newspapers unwittingly tend to denigrate Indian competence and thus undermine their confidence. For example, in publicity releases the University of Chicago and the Cross-Cultural Education projects loomed larger than the Cherokee. The radio programs in Cherokee, the newspaper articles about the radio program and the *Cherokee Nation Newsletter* were thus especially important in revealing the Cherokee as competent not only to themselves but also to the general public. *Cherokee Stories* by Dr. Willard Walker and Watt Spade hopefully will also present Cherokees to whites as a modern, "for real", worthy people. With the same purpose, Cherokee language articles are being prepared for local newspapers.

Another major effect of the project was the education of its staff members, which should prove to be significant for both full and part-time, Cherokee and non-Cherokee staff members, whose general level of sophistication and confidence increased as they achieved specialized skills.

Overall, the project moved with the community, even when we knew they were making mistakes. The educational process involved setting up situations within the environment which people could experience and from which they could learn. Many false starts were made, but the project should have the lasting effect that comes from the Cherokee's having learned from their own experiences and mistakes.

Literacy is only a small aspect of the total educational process, and without the knowledge gained from these wider experiences, becoming literate could not have been worthwhile. If the project had, or could have, focused on literacy in the strict sense, the community would have been blocked.

It is true, however, that several times we were prevented from responding to the community—when political aspirations were involved. If we could have responded in these cases as well, the project might have been able to go even further. There were also instances in which ideas were brought forward but could not be carried out due to insufficient money being available locally. (For example, the Democratic and Republican parties in the local area could not afford campaign posters in Cherokee). But we did respond in any way possible which meant that, although many of our efforts were not to materialize, we were able to achieve what we report here.

The Cherokee, 1968

In December, 1967 and February, 1968, Robert Thomas (Field Director of the project) revisited the Cherokee in Tahlequah. His description of what he observed follows:

Today there is a very activist mood among the Cherokee and the OCCO which evolved from a social movement into an institution which cross-cuts Cherokee social divisions including the ceremonial organizations and church groups (see above). One of the ceremonial organization heads is the chairman of the entire OCCO; another is a county chairman; several Baptist preachers are involved, one of whom is the interpreter for the organization.

---

[20] A textbook for teaching Cherokee to English speakers. Tapes to go with the conversations in the chapters have also been made since one can scarcely learn the language without tapes or a native speaker.

It is a rather amorphous organization, an institution which could grow up only among Indians. A few people take the responsibility and others back them when they are in agreement. One week 75% of the Cherokee people will be working with the organization and the next week only the officers will be involved. This make whites who deal with the organization uneasy because they want to know how many people are in the organization and how many are represented. But this is not that sort of organization; it is more like a war party which one can be in and out of at will.

It is a very functional organization, putting out the *Cherokee Nation Newsletter* and broadcasting the Cherokee radio program. There is an interest in producing a welfare rights handbook in Cherokee and English. The OCCO has already started a credit union; one of the ceremonial organizations has raised $5,000 and is trying to find matching funds from a foundation to start a cooperative store.

Many of the activities focus on education. The organization republished the *Primer* in response to demands from individual Cherokee and particular classes. It has received a grant from the Field Foundation for a legal education program and employs a full-time lawyer in their office. They are interested in an oral history project and want not only to study Cherokee history but also to write and publish it in Cherokee. They also want Sunday school literature in Cherokee in order to keep their churches as Cherokee institutions. They are building a 'temple' which will also be used as an archive for the many old records in Cherokee as well as a place to hold classes. (See above.)

Last Spring they became interesting in developing a bilingual school and are very enthusiastic about developing their own university. Now that the bi-lingual school bill has been passed, they plan to contact educators and are also beginning to approach foundations, etc. for funding for the university. Though there is talk of a scholarship committee, the money is not available, and the committee will not actually be formed unless it is.

Instead of sending two Cherokee youngsters to the National Workshop as originally planned, they are meeting with the National Indian Youth Council in an attempt to establish their own workshop. It seems likely that they will be successful and have already set up their curriculum. They are building an alliance with the NIYC by mere cooperation with existing institutions, and they are trying to work outside that framework building new institutions.

As has been described above, in 1963 there was a break between some of the young and the older people, and between the town and country Indians. Furthermore, the ceremonial organizations were fighting among themselves. This is disappearing, and a new, healthy "factionalism" is developing between those few individual Cherokee who are amenable to working with the establishment and the body of the tribe, the more nationalistic Cherokee. The latter are forming a more solid front now that they are active in a positive way rather than merely in reaction to outsiders and outside institutional structures.

Not only have the Cherokee become very active in building their own institutions; they have also begun to tie themselves into the institutional framework outside the Cherokee community. The changes among them between 1963 and 1968 can be summarized as, first, they have come to see that it is possible to function as a community within the American framework which they could not conceive of before. Throughout their history, they have tried to function either as a politically and socially independent people (and their institutions were destroyed) or as a conquered people. As a conquered people, survival depended on keeping quiet and only doing what was sanctioned by the institutions of the conquerors.[21]

Second, they are trying to function as a community within the American context by using the "elbow-room" within that structure to build institutions as well as to push against the power structure and make more room. Ultimately, of course, they would hope to be free of these restrictions which would involve some very fundamental social changes.

Third, Cherokee see how education can help them become a viable community within the American framework. Previously education in the white man's school was presented to Cherokee as either a way to make money or to assimilate as individuals. Thus there was no way to become educated and contribute to the

---

[21] See R. Thomas, "Colonialism: Classic and Internal," *New University Thought,* Winter, 1966–67, with regard to the dynamics of change in folk societies involved in colonial situation.

Cherokee as a people. Now they see that education is important if the Cherokee are to become a viable community within the American framework.

It is also important to note that certain of the project's operations are being continued despite the absence of project staff. Tangible evidence of the long-term effects of the project are contained in "The Cherokee Report" for December 15, 1967.[22]

Further evidence of the project's success, perhaps the greatest proof, is the following letter which was written by two Cherokee, one a 65 year old priest and medicine man whose formal education ended at the fourth grade, and the other a high school graduate and former juvenile delinquent and small-time hood. Both are now officers of the OCCO. This letter is an example of a community putting English to use in terms of their own aspirations and their relation to the wider world. The English, though rough in spots, is very effective. The level of conceptualization and generalization is staggeringly high.

"FEBRUARY 5, 1968.

"DEAR SIR: The Officers, Committeemen and the Cherokee People of the OCCO extend to you (and your Associates) an invitation to visit our Nation with the purpose of sitting in Council with us to discuss the past, present and future programs, activities and expenditures of the Cherokee Field Foundattion Project Grant. We are proud to say at this time that the project is progressing even better than we had anticipated, although we have to constantly cut corners to meet expenses with this present grant.

"Our main concern now, of course, is the future of this project. Since this project has only a short time to operate in this area we feel very certain that you will understand our urgent need to expand the expenditures of our next proposed budget (you will receive it in the near future) which would, in effect, expand the programs and activities of the next proposed project. One large scale operation that would be more effective and of greater benefit to all the Cherokee people.

"We will now, in part, try to clarify some of the questions that you may presently have in mind concerning the programs and activities of the Cherokee Field project and OCCO. This letter may also bring other questions into your mind that we can discuss with you at a later date.

"The Officers and Committeemen of OCCO (after an 8 hour day) work very hard and long hours into the nights and weekends driving (at their own expense) on rough country roads to conduct meetings over a vast area which consists of all the counties of the Cherokee Nation. This area, we might add, is the greater part of Eastern Oklahoma. Our main objective now is to regain control of our Tribal Government which would most likely solve all of our current problems. At the present time the Chief is appointed by the President of the United States upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior and the Chief in turn appoints his own Council. We have had it with living under a Colonialism type of Government. We want to live (like other Americans) under a free Democratic Government which, we have been told all of our lives, is stipulated in the Constitution of the United States. We want to have a voice in our Tribal Government, the freedom of expressing our own desires, to decide for ourselves the future expenditures of our tribal funds (the Chief and his Council, without notifying the Cherokee people or getting their vote of approval, have proposed and approved a budget of $1,118,000.00 for this fiscal year), to make our own decisions and live in peaceful coexistence without the domination of a Government controlled Bureaucracy. The Field Project now has a bilingual newsletter called "The Cherokee Report", and it is a great benefit to OCCO. We can now communicate with our people that live in the hill country and print all the information we can gather and uncover. Make certain that they are informed with thte truth. Our people for too many years have been misinformed and uniformed about our tribal affairs and its activities.

"Our forefathers left us large acreage of land. Today, most of our property is gone. We haven't much of anything left to pass on to our future generation. Our property has been swindled from us through all sorts of fraudulent acts. For instance, tax sale, guardianship appointed to us, forgery, etc., you name it, every fraudulent angle has been used. Land swindle in Oklahoma is far beyond belief.

"We have a small land survey program in operation now, but not large enough to do a sufficient job. Our families are scattered from one end of the Nation to the other. This in itself calls for a larger land survey program. We must insist on it being expanded or this part of the program may be a complete failure.

---

[22] First issue of a periodical printed in the syllabary and in English by the OCCO.

"We are not only poor but not very well educated. Our people not only lack the funds to travel to our office but some of them lack transportation. Since we lack in knowledge, we really don't know what to do about our situation. Even if they came to the office there wouldn't be enough time or personnel to interview all of them.

"This also leads to the fact that we very much in need of another Attorney. We have a certain person who is very well qualified for the job in mind. He is a young Indian (Otoe and Osage) who will be graduating from law school this summer. He has agreed to work with us and we have great hopes for him.

"We ask Robert K. Thomas to work with us, not only because he is a specialist in the field of anthropology, but because we need his services. He is an expert on Cherokee History and Tradition plus being of Cherokee blood. He is concerned enough about his own people that he agreed to work with us, although he would have to take a considerable amount of cut in pay. He also agreed, at our request, to write to you and outline the services he could render us. He has been of great service to us in the past and we certainly need him now.

"Mr. Stuart W. Trapp is, we can truthfully say, an honest, dedicated and efficient hard working individual. But, we are sorry to say, since he has started working with us, he is overworked and constantly under heavy pressure. Never enough time in a day to complete a days work, which is usually three days work crammed into one. He has to drive 150 miles round trip to do research at the law library in Tulsa. Plus interviews and research through old documents at the office. Also a lot of his own typing.

"Mr. Andrew Dreadfulwater is Chairman of OCCO, Editor of the Cherokee Report, Operates printing machine, types own news on Cherokee typewriter, radio newscaster, gathers his own news and conducts meetings some nights after work and weekends.

"The Reverend Sam Chaudoin is our interpreter, translator, helps operate printing machine, helps keep files in order and helps with the research.

"Mr. Scott McLemore is Secretary to OCCO, Learning legal secretary work, Commissioned Notary Public, receptionist, typing, treasurer to Cherokee credit union and bookkeeper for Field Funds which includes the Cherokee Report funds.

"We need a full scale expansion, expand all our programs. We want to print brochures on Social Security laws, State and Federal Welfare laws, State Highway laws, etc., and print more newsletters. As mentioned before, we certainly need a full scale land survey and do more research into other problem areas.

"We expect to educate our people in as many areas as possible where law is concerned. We want our people to better understand law and how it can be used to their advantage. We want our people to be able to stand on their own two feet after this project is finished. We can't get any honest legal aid from private attorneys in our area because they are part of the power structure that controls this state. But, we are doing our best to break this structure and hope to do it soon.

"We certainly hope that you will honor our invitation to visit us very soon.

"Very truly yours

"______, ______."

The American Indians nationally—Changes 1963–1968

The Cherokee tribe is perhaps more active and is dealing with the situation better than most other tribes. In terms of the overall American Indian scene, individual tribes are not doing so well. However, there are sentiments across tribes,[23] and Indians generally are becoming increasingly activist-minded. Indian youth are much more active as are cross-tribal institutions such as the National Indian Youth Council.

This is particularly true in terms of edcation. For example, the National Indian Youth Council is developing its own Workshop for college students, in the summer of 1968. Since 1955 an annual summer Workshop has brought together some 30 American Indian college students to study Indian affairs and the social sciences. For the last 10 years, the Workshop, originally founded by the University of Chicago, has been financed by "American Indian Development" and held at the University of Colorado. The Indians in the National Indian Youth

---

[23] See R. K. Thomas, "Pan-Indianism," *Midcontinent American Studies Journal*, 1965, an essay on the process whereby tribal people come to see themselves as having a wider identity than that of the local group to which they belong. In this case the wider identity is based on the common experience of aboriginal peoples facing invasion by outsiders.

Council (founded in 1961) have been closely associated with the Workshop. Many were alumni. By 1966 they wished it to become autonomous, and managed by alumni and participants, if not NIYC itself. Failing in this, they began to plan their own NIYC summer workshop in Lawrence, Kansas. The NIYC has also received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to help set up a pilot project of Head Start programs for and by Indians and oriented to Indian culture.

In 1960–61, American Indians—especially tribal officials—were repeating the general American thesis, which they heard from whites, that education of the young is the only hope for salvation. But they did not know what they meant by "education".

The young men in the NIYC who have been to the Workshop and have worked on educational projects, and especially those who have had contact with the Cherokee, would not say education is the solution to Indian ills. They are not interested in education for Indians which has been devised by a profession outside and imposed on Indians; but they are very interested in education for Indians which involves Indian history, language, and traditions, and which might be developed out of Indian culture and society.

Our Cross-Cultural Education project and the Cherokee situation have greatly influenced and stimulated these young men and the change of mood.[24] This was the first large project in bi-lingual education which itself has become very important within the educational establishment and with other minority groups. Cherokee already have become a showpiece for Indian nationalists and important Indian leaders as well as for students of Indian culture.

Indian Voices, which has also greatly affected changes in views among American Indians generally, was also a very important factor in tying the Cherokee increasingly into the national scene. The national problem was never that the Indians felt incompetent but that the whiteman would not allow them to do what they wanted to do and what they had to do to survive as a social group. An important factor in the Indians' becoming active outside their own tribes was their learning that they did not have to be restricted by the whiteman's threats. Nor had they seen that the institution building they are now doing was even possible. They did no even know that institutional "elbow-room" existed; or if they did, that whites would allow them to take advantage of it. All the new activities among the Cherokee were of course possible within the existing structure; indeed, one reason why the Cherokee were selected for the project was that less could have been accomplished on a reservation where there is no "elbow-room".

The politicians, industrialists, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs administrators in Oklahoma recognized from the outset that the activities envisioned for the Cross-Cultural Education project would upset their power structure, and now speak of the project as having had a strong—albeit to them negative—influence. Indeed, the politicians recognized sooner and more fully than the social scientists what the political and economic implications of the project were to be. Now that the Indians also have a fuller understanding of how the system works, they are able to function within it in a way they could not before.

The politicians see the Workshop, the NIYC, the Cross-Cultural Education project, and other activities as an organized villainous plot: doubtless many in the Bureau of Indian Affairs accept that definition. In so far as those within the power structure judge activities such as these in terms of probable end results rather than intentions, they reveal a fuller understanding of power groups and power differentials than do many social scientists.

Among the latest developments is Indian participation in the Poor People's March. This is significant not only with regard to inter-tribal identification as Indians, but also as an indication of participation in national affairs, Indians defining themselves as among the poor in common with whites, Negroes, Mexican-Americans, and others.

III. WHAT WE LEARNED—HOW OUR THINKING CHANGED

We started with two main ideas: (1) to set up adult-education courses, using *Indian Voices*, which was to be built from the *AICC Newsletter*, as a vehicle; and (2) to test programmed education techniques.

The first issue of *Indian Voices* had come out in the Spring of 1963. We did not immediately develop correspondence courses through it both because we needed to let it develop first and because we had come to doubt the wisdom of carrying out the entire project through correspondence. We had planned an ongoing seminar among Indians of Chicago, but now thought it better to observe the effect we were having among the Cherokee, where research on the language and culture would affect the teaching and learning of English.

---

[24] As exemplified in Stanley Steiner, *The New Indian*, New York, 1968.

As mentioned above, we selected the Cherokee community in Oklahoma for our case study, largely because at one time they had had a very high level of education and because they are one of the largest blocks of native Indian language speakers in the country. Once in Oklahoma, it became clear that the lack of Cherokee education was not due to the Cherokee having less opportunity in the twentieth century than they had had in the nineteenth; in fact, more opportunities were now open to them. If the decrease in education was not due to a decrease in opportunity then to what?

In trying to answer the question—to discover why Cherokees were less educated in the twentieth than in the nineteenth century—it soon became evident that the causes involved the Cherokee adaptation not alone to education, but to their overall situation. In trying to keep away from whites and live their life as best they could, the Cherokee had withdrawn, not only from whites, but from white institutions, including schools.

On the other side, whites saw the Cherokee language as standing in the way of the "progress" of Cherokees. They brought pressure to bear on the Cherokee community, including many aspects of it which are most symbolic to the Cherokee, and none more so than their own language. In attempting to redefine their whole situation, we knew we had to deal with Cherokees in terms of their interests, and among these the Cherokee language was primary.

They spoke Cherokee in the home and were interested in learning once again to read and write it. We thought we could involve them in education again by relating the project to that interest. Perhaps we could re-define what schools are by offering Cherokee language courses there. Then the Cherokee could participate in schools instead of avoiding them.

We thought that by relating to their interest in reading Cherokee, we might accomplish several things. First, we might again test whether literacy in one's own language increases ability to achieve in a world language. Second, and specifically, we hypothesized that if Cherokee became a functional language, the competition between English and Cherokee would decrease so that English—defined as simply utilitarian rather than involving ideological allegiance—could be learned without "selling out" as a Cherokee. We thought this approach would revive the Cherokee interest in education, which might again be seen by them as functional.

Meanwhile the project developed a technique for motivating underachievers to read English as a second language. In order to learn to read Cherokee and to validate their interpretation of Cherokee texts, it turns out that the Cherokees needed to read the English in the *Primer*. Though complete statistics are not available on how many people are reading the material which developed out of the project,[25] it seems to be confirmed that a bi-lingual book is much more effective than a monolingual one. By providing the Cherokee with a means of learning to read their own language, which involved the necessity to read English, of course they learned both together where otherwise they would learn neither.[26]

Early in the project we dropped the distinctions of education for adults vs. education for children, and of formal vs. informal education, because they are not relevant in Cherokee society. Even the category "education is meaningful only in the western context where an institutional complex is established to deal specifically with education. We began to see the process in which we were involved as "community development" in the very broad sense, and our work in literacy as only one entree into an integrated pattern of relationships. In the process of educating those who participated in the project, we would be tangentially helping the community's general development, which in turn would bring an increase in Cherokee and English literacy, and revive interest in education. To test our hypotheses we gathered as many social and economic facts about the Cherokee situation as we could and planned to repeat the survey at the end of the project. The re-survey will be completed this summer, but already the general results are clear. It is obvious that Cherokee literacy has very greatly increased; probably also ability in English, which will be more difficult to assess; and that revival of Cherokee interest in education is tremendous. Although we had thought that Cherokee interest in education would become an interest in the schools, it turned out that we were naive in thinking that the Cherokee could become involved in the schools as Cherokee, or that they would be permitted to become so involved. We did not sufficiently consider the political and economic relations involved. Therefore, the greatly revived interest in education brought the Cherokee little closer to the schools that were in—but not of—their communities.

---

[25] A questionnaire has been designed to acquire data on the circumstances in which the *Primer* helped people learn to read Cherokee. (See below, page 43).

[26] Further discussion of the purpose of the *Primer* andthe rationale for its design are contained in W. Walker, "An Experiment in Programmed Cross-Cultural Education: the Import of the *Cherokee Primer* for the Cherokee Community and for the Behavioral Sciences" (unpublished).

Over the course of the project we therefore came to understand that (1) the problem of American Indian Education is alienation rather than lack of opportunity, and that alienation from education is part and parcel of their political, social, and economic isolation; (2) at least in the Cherokee case, this isolation did not result simply from Indian withdrawal from the education process, leaving (as we mistakenly thought) a vacuum between Indian communities and the larger social system; and (3) significant increases in literacy are part of a social movement, not merely increased individual motivation, by which communities attempt to achieve the "normal" state of functioning within their environment to cope with the problems which confront them.

In this light, it is evident why our interest turned away from experimentation with educational techniques, such as the programmed home-study lessons that originally suggested themselves as an answer to developing English literacy among adults. Long before a Cherokee is presented with a technique, his perception of a whole situation must be changed. When approached, already he has become habituated to a certain mode of learning and to certain social conditions of learning in which the learning situation has been defined. The success of any new technique depends far less on the technique itself than on the previous history of the individual. Observation of the Cherokee therefore emphasize these generalities:

(1) Every individual becomes habituated to certain modes of learning. He may learn step-by-step or by bits and pieces which he puts together rather as a puzzle. Or he may have been trained as are many Cherokee in Gestaltic learning in which he tries to grasp wholes. Pre-learning followed by a "vision" is also common among Cherokee.

(2) Learning finds the individual in a prior social process which is critical. Thus, many Cherokee youngsters perceive their school as foreign territory. But more important, for Cherokee, the individual is not the unit of education. Most Cherokee learn only within a context of social relationships, not in isolation. If a Cherokee wants to learn medicine, he goes to his uncle. If as a child he wants to learn Cherokee, his father will teach him. If Cherokee is learned at church, everyone present will help out.

A middle-class youngster who is very individuated, competitive, and habituated to learning by himself, step-by-step, and to whom learning is very rewarding in itself may succeed with programmed techniques regardless of the social context. However, for Cherokee, the learning technique is extremely susceptible to aspiration and context, so much so that given the right context, even what may appear to be the wrong method, does work. Conversely, although there is nothing more desirable and prestigous to Cherokee than learning their own language, when the context is wrong, they do not learn to read or write. Our hunch is, from experience with Gestaltic-learning Cherokees, that programming is an efficient way of teaching, given the right social conditions and the right definition of learning.

However, the usual rewards built into programmed education are not effective with Cherokee. Among the Cherokee, it is the peer group that learns and the reward lies in those relationships. Rewards for individuals do not have an effect among Cherokee. There are no educational techniques which could be devised for Cherokee Indians in which rewards could be built into the technique itself. The reward must lie in the relationship between people.

The data collected through questionnaires on the *Primer* and through observations in schools and churches, provide ample and detailed information to support these propositions. Where the *Primer* was successful, Cherokee did not learn from it on their own, but in defined social situations. Primers mailed to individuals were successful only when they were used, for example, by fathers to teach their children which, of course, involves a meaningful relationship. They also worked well when used in Cherokee churches and in those schools and other institutions which provided a context of on-going relationships between Cherokee and which were geared to Cherokee aspirations. Despite the fact that Cherokee tend to learn in terms of Gestalts, so that programming is a somewhat more difficult adaptation for adults than children, programmed education is proved to work well in a Cherokee social context which provides support for it.

Other literature on Cherokee and on Indian education makes it evident—even though it is not explicitly stated—that there are no individual learners among tribal Indians. In a more general way, it is probably true that in the inner city also, the rewards and the definition of the learning situation lie in the social relations between people. Whenever the individual learner is not the learning unit, techniques geared toward individual learners clash with similar social situational and definition-of-learning factors.

Our conclusion that difficulties of American Indian education stem less from lack of opportunity than from lack of general articulation between these tribal groups and the rest of American society may well apply to other folk and folklike peoples *vis a vis* the general society. Indeed the dysfunctional relationship of American Indians may be typical—if exaggerated—rather than unusual. A low level of education may be generally symptomatic of a general problem of disarticulation which also breeds other social ills. This disarticulation is of course complicated by problems of identity. Education and English must be more than a little threatening to many tribal and other minority linguistic groups encapsulated in a larger society. One need only think of Welch, Gaelic, Basque, and Balkan areas of Europe to realize how important and symbolic of a people's existence a language can be. The other side of this coin is that the majority language often becomes a competitor.

Education is only one of the ways by which majority groups come into contact with cultural minorities; it is only one set of relationships among the many of that contact situation. In dealing with folk communities we must revamp our notions and categories of educational problems, and our ideas about how to deal with them, since they were developed for middle-class "majority" populations. In the United States, lack of opportunity is not the problem.

Furthermore, the categories that we are accustomed to in urban life are certainly not functional for Indians and may not be for others; education cannot be isolated from other aspects of life. Indians are not, as we conceive people in urban life, individuals with their private goals and motivations. "Individuals" in an Indian community are tied together in a cohesive integrated network of relationships, in which all aspects of life impinge upon and influence one another.

Education in such a situation must take place within the total community as it moves through time. The major need is to define education, and education in English, as a desirable, worthwhile goal for the total community. This does not mean manipulating people or "selling" them something in their own best interest which would quickly disappear when the outsider left the scene. Among American Indians, and particularly the Cherokee, we have worked in terms of *their* educational goals and tried to demonstrate which goals are possible. To put it another way, we have tried to participate with people in educational endeavors which would enable them, so we thought, to develop a new perception of their situation, thus enabling them to take advantage of the vast array of educational opportunities in this country. Needless to say, this is a decision that cannot be made for people by outsiders if it is to be a functional and lasting one.

Any effective educational program among folk peoples probably involves community motivation more than individual motivation. Early in our project David Christenson surveyed for us literacy or literacy improvement programs among folk people around the world. His research suggested that successful literacy programs are either the result of, or become, a social movement. On a local level our research bears this out. One of the goals of the social movement in which the Cherokee tribe is now involved is just such a literacy movement in both the Cherokee language and in English. This process seems to be taking place among American Indians generally; and at least in the Cherokee area, this movement and interest in literacy improvement could have come about only through meeting Cherokees on their own "educational grounds". This has meant redefining education as productive for Cherokees as Cherokees and redefining English as a useful rather than a competitive language. If this is generally necessary, it does not mean that one could inaugurate a quick "national program" on this pattern. Any educational endeavors must be focused locally and regionally in the first instance, since the particularities are as important as the generalities of life.

We are now in the process of completing research which will gage the effects of our project and propose future research needs. In addition to Key Ketcher's evaluation (see above, page 22), a forthcoming monograph by Murray Wax (see above, page 24) will contain a detailed description of Cherokee learning. Thomas and Wahrhaftig will publish the final data from the project (*The Modern Cherokee*, a projected book still in outline) which will include a chapter on programmed educational techniques as well as observations on literacy classes in schools and churches.

A number of publications directly related to the project are in the final stages of preparation. These are:

Cherokee-English Dictionary, by Willard Walker.

Reader on American Indian Affairs, edited by Rolland H. Wright: A volume of collected essays to be published by Doubleday-Anchor.

American Indians, by R. Thomas: A text for high school students to be completed this summer.

"Population Trends in American Indian Communities", by R. Thomas and A. Wahrhaftig: To be published in *Current Anthropology* in mid-1968). A lengthy article combining R. Thomas' background paper presented to the American Indian Chicago Conference, and A. Wahrhaftig's Cherokee population survey.

The American Indian: What Needs To Be Said, by A. Wahrhaftig: A short book for college level and popular reading; illustrated; to be published by Scott, Foresman and Morrow.

Although we have learned much about literacy improvement (including such factors as population dynamics, social systems, power relations, class and community, and learning situations *per se*) we are clearly most interested in the more general lessons we have learned in these five years. We have gone far around Robin Hood barn from our purpose to set up correspondence courses in English for adult American Indians using programmed educational techniques. That is how the road went leading to discoveries about cross-cultural education which complicate easy "solutions" but seem to us to cast light on the only direction one can take to get solutions.

TAHLEQUAH, OKLA., *March 11, 1968*.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

To the Subcommittee:

This is an addition to my testimony before you on the 19th day of February, 1968, at Oak Mission school, Oklahoma.

I attach copies of the following:

1. My letter to Virgil Harrington, Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs and to Ralph Keen, Cherokee Nation Manager, dated February 20, 1968.
2. Reply of C. C. Carshall, Acting Area Director, BIA, dated March 4, 1968.

As you will see from reading these attached copies, I received in them no information requested from the Bureau, and I have had not even the courtesy of a reply from the Cherokee Nation.

I sent to you a copy of #1 above and attached to it copies of papers wherein I had asked the Bureau Area Director for (1) the original amount of the residual fund (2) the names and salaries of persons on the Cherokee tribal payroll and (3) how much was in the tribal fund at the date of the letter.

Prior to that request I had asked the Bureau Area Director for a list of the Minutes in his possession and for copies of those Minutes. The papers attached to my letter of February 20, 1968, to Mr. Harrington and Mr. Keen, with a copy to you, included a list furnished by Mr. Harrington of the Minutes in his files.

So the papers you already have show that item number one (residual fund) was answered, item number two (payroll) was not, and item number three (tribal balance) was not, balance of residual fund was what Mr. Harrington supplied, *not* tribal balance. Surely he knows the difference between these two.

It was this ill-concealed disregard for my right to know that I testified to at Oak Mission, and Mr. Harrington had the bureaucratic arrogance to tell you he had supplied all the information I had asked for.

This attitude is matched by the stated condition of the Area files, which Mr. Harrington made no effort to explain in spite of the fact that so many Minutes of the Executive Committee are obviously missing.

Now, in regard to my letter to Mr. Harrington and Mr. Keen of February 20, 1968, what I specifically asked for is this:

1. Names of persons being paid from tribal funds, per diem, salary, contract or otherwise, now and during the past five years.
2. Delineation of responsibility between Bureau and Cherokee Nation generally and, in particular, to the Cherokee Foundation and Cherokee National Historical Society.
3. The relationship of N. B. Johnson to Cherokee affairs, and whether that relationship is one each office considers in the performance of its duties.
4. A list of the dates of all meetings of the Executive Committee, and from Mr. Keen only a complete list of Committee Minutes in his possession or under his control.
5. That the Washington Bureau of Indian Affairs supply a complete list of meeting dates and Minutes of the Executive Committee.

6. For copies of Executive Committee Minutes from now on, including those of any meetings held since October 1967.

Now, the reply of the Muskogee Bureau (Mr. Harrington apparently had one of his assistants do it) dated March 4, 1968, says my request of February 20, 1968, "duplicates other requests that I have made in the past."

That is simply not so. As the papers previously submitted and the papers attached here make very clear, I had asked the Bureau for Minutes—*not a list of the dates of Committee Meetings*, it being this letter I asked for in my letter of February 20, 1968; I had asked for the original residual fund, and for persons on the tribal payroll, and for the present tribal funds; and my letter of February 20, 1968, *did not duplicate any request that had been satisfied*.

The Bureau reply of March 4, 1968, is just another example of the way the Bureau treats us here.

It says, "We believe most of the information available to us has been furnished you in the past."

All that has been furnished me is (1) List of Minutes and copies of them (that the Bureau *says* it has) and (2) the amount of the original residual fund.

Now, is that what the Bureau would have you believe is "most of the information available"?

Myself, and many, many other people have been truly given new heart by the Oak Mission hearings, and I ask now that the Sub Committee act to obtain for itself and for me and for all of us here the information from the records of the Bureau and the Cherokee Nation that has been refused me, those numbered above 1 thru 6 and more specifically stated in my letter of February 20, 1968.

I also want to know to what organizations or persons Cherokee tribal funds have been contributed.

Sincerely,

MRS. MILDRED P. BALLENGER.

TAHLEQUAH, OKLA., *February 20, 1968.*

Mr. VIRGIL HARRINGTON,
Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Okla.
Mr. RALPH KEEN,
General Manager, Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, Tahlequah, Okla.

GENTLEMEN: I attach copies of the following:

1. My letter to Virgil Harrington of January 30, 1968.
2. Reply of Mr. Harrington of February 15, 1968.
3. Lists of Cherokee Executive Committee Minutes supplied me by Mr. Harrington.
4. Copy of this letter.

Additional copies of those papers are being forwarded to the Senate Sub Committee on Indian Education as my additional testimony to the Sub Committee. First, please do understand that I am asking for information that I think I am entitled to and that I or any other Cherokee should not need to ask for (certainly not in this formal way), and that it is this absence of information in any appreciable degree which concerns me so intensely.

I refer not only to financial details and the names of persons being paid from tribal funds, per diem or salary or contract or otherwise, now and during the past five years, but also the delineation of the responsibility between your two offices toward Cherokee affairs generally, and, in particular, such related bodies as the Cherokee Foundation and the Cherokee National Historical Society, and specifically I ask each of you what is the relationship of N. B. Johnson to Cherokee affairs, and each of you to state whether or not this relationship is one you consider in the performance of your jobs.

You see, we just don't know what your jobs are.

Please again, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Keen, send me your figures—budgets, income, expenses—and who is responsible for what.

Also, I am asking for, from each of you, a complete list of the dates of all meetings of the Cherokee Executive Committee, and from Mr. Keen, a complete list of Minutes of that Committee in his possession or under his control. The list (copy attached) supplied of Minutes does not reflect the actual number of meetings, obviously so where it has but one Minute for all of 1966, none in 1948, two for 1955, one for 1956, one for 1957, and so on. In the understanding that copies of the Minutes of the Executive Committee are forwarded to Washington, D.C., Bureau of Indian Affairs, for distribution to its branches concerned with topics considered in such meetings, I ask Mr. Harrington to forward the enclosed copy of this letter to Washington, D.C., Bureau of Indian Affairs, specifically asking for a complete list from their files of such meeting dates and Minutes on file to date. I ask that I receive copies of the Minutes of the Executive Committee regularly from now on, including any held since October, 1967.

I hope and request that copies of your replies to my letter be submitted as your additional testimony to the Sub Committee, and in the event you are unable to respond to my requests within the three week period stated by the Sub Committee, I ask that, within that period, you submit to the Sub Committee a statement of your intention in that respect.

I regret the necessity for proceeding in this way, but feel it may well be the way to clear the air toward greater understanding, and I truly hope you can agree.

Sincerely,

MRS. MILDRED BALLENGER.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
MUSKOGEE AREA OFFICE,
Muskogee, Okla., March 4, 1968.

MRS. MILDRED BALLENGER,
Tahlequah, Okla.

DEAR MRS. BALLENGER: We will ge glad to furnish any information relative to the affairs of the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma which you feel you need and is available in this office.

Your request is rather extensive and also duplicates other requests that you have made in the past. We believe most of the information available to us has been furnished you in the past. In order that we do not spend a great deal of time researching for items already furnished, we would appreciate your coming into this office to discuss the subjects.

We will make every attempt to locate those items which we have available that have not previously been sent to you.

Sincerely yours,

C. C. CARSHALL, *Acting Area Director.*

ORIGINAL CHEROKEE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION,
Tahlequah, Okla.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

Chairman ROBERT F. KENNEDY, I submit the following, with enclosures, as additional testimony to the subcommittee on Indian Education:

On February 21, 1968, I wrote Mr. Virgil Harrington, Muskogee Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, asking for information about an organization called the Keetoowah Cherokees in 1947 or 1948 authorizing its Chief and Secretary to enter into a contract with attorneys for claims before the Indian Claims Commission. I enclose a copy of that letter.

I asked specifically for the names of the Chief and Secretary.

I asked specifically for the identity of the Keetoowah Cherokees.

Mr. Harrington replied by letter dated February 26, 1968, and I enclose a copy of that letter.

The only information given in that letter is that Bureau records of the United Keetoowah Band date from its approval in May, 1950, and that it was no recognized as a separate entity previously.

Thus, again, the plight of the Indian before the Bureau. Either it does not know, or does not care, even enough to find out.

So I ask the Sub-Committee to obtain the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs upon that matter. Since writing Mr. Harrington I have learned that the date of the Keetoowah Cherokees meeting was August 5, 1947, and may have taken place in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, and that one Houston Teehee was one of the attorneys involved.

I still do not know the names of this Chief and Secretary, nor do I know who these so called Keetoowah Cherokees were.

It is, however, unbelievable that this meeting could have been held without the knowledge and participation of the Bureau, which then and now maintained a field agent in Tahlequah and other towns of the Cherokee country.

I am not referring to the recollections of individuals, but for records from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and I am *not* referring to the contract of William Maben, Attorney, with the Keetoowah Society, Inc., as has been gratuitously suggested to me.

I also ask that the Sub-Committee, recognizing the futility of my attempting to obtain other related and necessary information from the Bureau, obtain the following from the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

1. The official acts performed by A. B. Cunningham, Chief (appointed) of the Cherokee Nation from November 8, to November 25, 1919.
2. The official acts performed by Ed. M. Frye, Chief (appointed) of the Cherokee Nation June 23, 1923.
3. The official acts performed by Richard B. Choate, Chief (appointed) of the Cherokee Nation October 15, 1925.
4. The official acts performed by Charles J. Hunt, Chief (appointed) of the Cherokee Nation December 27, 1928.
5. The official acts performed by Oliver P. Brewer, Chief (appointed) of the Cherokee Nation May 26, 1931.
6. The official acts performed by William W. Hastings, Chief (appointed) of the Cherokee Nation January 22, 1936.
7. Copy of the Minutes of the Inter Tribal Council meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1938, and a copy of the Constitution adopted at that meeting, and copies of Minutes of subsequent meetings.
8. Copy of Minutes of Eastern and Western Cherokees at meeting on August 8, 1938, these Minutes certified to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
9. Copy of Minutes of meeting at Lyons Community House, March 30, 1939, Adair County, Oklahoma, called by Bureau, and copy of constitution proposed at that meeting.
10. Solicitor, Bureau of Indian Affairs, opinion in April or May, 1944, pertaining to non-hereditary membership of Keetoowah Society, Inc.
11. Copy of Minutes and Resolution of Keetoowah Cherokee, August 8, 1947.
12. Copy of Minutes of July 30, 1948, Tahlequah Convention of Duly Enrolled Cherokee, as subscribed by the Secretary to the Superintendent, Five Civilized Tribes, and certified by him to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.
13. Copy of the original contract between E. B. Pierce, Attorney, and the United Keetoowah Band, and copies of subsequent contracts.

ANDREW DREADFULWATER, *Chairman.*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
MUSKOGEE AREA OFFICE,
Muskogee, Okla., March 1, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Indian Education Subcommittee,
New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: We are pleased to submit information relative to the $280.00 per capita payment to the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma and the tribal socio-economic program authorized by the Principal Chief and approved as provided by law.

A per capita distribution of the funds which were appropriated by the Act of September 30, 1961 (75 Stat. 733), in satisfaction of a judgment obtained by the Cherokee Tribe in the Indian Claims Commission against the United States in docket numbered 173 was requested by the Cherokee Executive Committee of which Mrs. Mildred Ballenger was a member.

The Act of Congress of October 9, 1962 (76 Stat. 776), which authorized the payment, directed the Secretary of the Interior to distribute all of the funds appropriated except $1,432,084.17 set aside for payment of any offsets finally determined to be due the United States, the amount allowed for attorney fees and expenses, and all costs incident to making the payments.

To determine the per capita share pursuant to the Act, the following formula was used:

Appropriated		$14, 789, 476. 15
Reserve for offsets	$1, 432, 084. 17	
Reserve for attorney fees (10 percent)	1, 478, 947. 61	
		2, 911, 031. 78
Total		11, 878, 444. 37

$11,878,444.37÷41,935 (enrollees on final roll)=$283.25 per capita share.

Bearing in mind that all costs of distribution were to be paid from the judgment fund, for which funds had not been reserved, a per capita share of $280.00 was authorized based entirely on the limitations imposed by the authorizing Act.

Subsequently, the offsets were settled by compromise for $425,000 plus interest of $29,505.48, for a total of $454,505.48, leaving a balance of $977,578.69 in the fund reserved for offsets.

Section 2(a) of the authorizing Act provided "That proportional shares of deceased heirs amounting to $10.00 or less shall not be distributed, and no inherited share amounting to $5.00 or less shall be paid, and the money shall revert to the tribe;".

Section 3(a) of the Act provides "All claims for per capita shares * * * shall be filed * * *, not later than three years from the date of approval of this Act, * * * and the unclaimed shares shall revert to the tribe.

Section 3(b) provides that "Tribal funds that revert to the tribe pursuant to this Act, including interest and income therefrom, may be advanced or expended for any purpose that is authorized by the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nationa and approved by the Secretary of the Interior".

Believing that there would be in excess of $2,000,000 of reverted funds available for expenditure to improve the economic condition of the tribe, the Principal Chief of the tribe with the advice and consent of the Cherokee Executive Committee developed and authorized an eleven point socio-economic program for the tribe which was approved by the Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs under delegation of authority from the Secretary of the Interior. A copy of the approved program is attached.

With these funds the tribe has constructed a restaurant, an Arts and Crafts Center, a service station, and a warehouse for use by Cherokee construction workers on a forty-acre tract of tribally-owned land adjacent to the City of Tahlequah.

Construction of an office building built to G.S.A. specifications has started, which will be leased to G.S.A. for occupancy by the Tahlequah Agency of the Bureau.

Plans and specifications are being completed for construction of an industrial building containing 30,000 square feet, which will be leased to a North Carolina textile manufacturer. This company is now selecting Cherokees for training as employees of the company.

All operating and construction workers are members of the tribe, who are receiving valuable on-the-job training and experience.

The tribe has cooperated with the Indian Division of Public Health Service in sanitation projects in Adair, Delaware, and Cherokee Counties by furnishing certain key employees at tribal expense, which has resulted in equipping 851 Cherokee homes with sanitation facilities and fresh water supplies.

Additionally, the tribe has established a revolving credit program by setting up a fund of $250,000 for loans to tribal members. Thirty-two loans have been completed for $142,440. Twenty-two loans totaling $107,560 have been approved by the Credit Committee and are being processed for completion.

Housing for individual members of the Cherokee Tribe was considered of prime importance by the Principal Chief. The Housing Authority of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma was organized in 1966 to comply with the requirements of the Oklahoma Housing Authorities Act of 1965, and funds were made available to permit the Housing Authority to organize and to make application for housing loans from the Housing Assistance Administration. At the same time, the tribe purchased additional land which may be used as housing sites for individual families.

Included in this acquisition was a 15-acre site near Tahlequah which was purchased for $4,150, on which the Housing Authority is now developing a 16-unit low-rent housing project, for which the Housing Assistance Administration is advancing a loan of $209,122.

The tribe also acquired 208 acres of land from the Oklahoma Ordnance Works Authority near Pryor, Oklahoma, for $36,414. At that time the tribal Housing Authority, through a loan from the Housing Assistance Administration for $270,123, purchased 25 housing units for a low-rent housing project. These units are now being rehabilitated and will be occupied within the next 90 days. It is hoped that the 208-acre tract can be developed as a housing and light industry site in the future. In addition, the tribe has purchased eleven scattered tracts of land throughout the area for $31,755 that will be made available to Cherokee families for housing purposes.

Tribal funds of $33,386.72 have been spent for operation and maintenance costs of training eligible Cherokees as heavy equipment operators and welders. Each training period handled fifteen men, all obtaining jobs after graduation.

We hope that this information will be useful to the Committee. We will be glad to furnish any other information which the Committee may desire.

Principal Chief Keeler and the Executive Committee of the Cherokee Tribe have taken advantage of every available program to help the Cherokees and have cooperated to the fullest extent with all agencies, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs. We, in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, feel most fortunate to be working with such dedicated members of the Cherokee Tribe toward improving the social and economic conditions of the tribe.

We appreciate the work this Senate Subcommitee is doing, which will ultimately result in broader services to the American Indian.

It was a pleasure having the privilege of meeting with you.

Sincerely yours,

Virgil N. Harrington,
Area Director.

Enclosure.

U.S. Department of the Interior,
Bureau of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C., July 2, 1965.

Mr. Virgil N. Harrington,
Area Director,
Muskogee, Okla.

Dear Mr. Harrington: This is in response to your letter of May 21, forwarding for approval consideration the program adopted by the Cherokee Nation for socio-economic development purposes. Your letter, recommending approval, transmitted Principal Chief W. W. Keeler's letter to you of May 18, the Executive Committee's Declaration of Policies adopted May 18 and approved by you on May 20, and the recommended program setting forth the program purposes and fund allocations.

The program proposes the use of a portion of the judgment funds awarded the Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma by the Indian Claims Commission in settlement of Docket No. 173, as authorized by the Act of October 9, 1962 (76 Stat. 776). The program objectives and fund allocations are as follows:

1. Industrial development	$800, 000
2. Trade and technical schools at Stilwell and Tahlequah	200,000
3. Housing and land loans	200, 000
4. Home improvement for Cherokees in cooperation with Public Housing Administration—self-help program	100, 000
5. Educational loans	200, 000
6. Research, publication, and preservation of the history of the Cherokee Nation	50, 000
7. Cherokee drama and shrine at Tahlequah in cooperation with Cherokee Historical Society	100, 000
8. Development of the 40-acre industrial tract near Tahlequah	25, 000
9. Arts and crafts center and Cherokee council house on 6 acres of the 40-acre industrial site near Tahlequah	50, 000
10. Tribal specialist (assist tribe in various programs)	75, 000
11. Budgeting of tribal funds for tribal operations and contingencies	200, 000
Total allocation	2, 000, 000

Our comments on the program principles and fund allocations of the Cherokee Nation's are as follows:

1. *Industrial Development.*—The proposal to combine tribal funds with available community funds should place the Cherokee Nation in a more competitive position for this phase of its program.

2. *Trade and Technical Schools to be built at Stilwell and Tahlequah.*—Our initial question on this proposal was with respect to the authority for matching federal funds. However, in a subsequent telephone conversation with your office, you advised that this was within the Manpower Training Act. There is a phase of this program which we feel should be called to your attention with respect to the implication that the technical trades and skills training under this program would be incorporated at the high school level. In light of the progressive changes in our economy which increasingly is requiring a higher level of vocational skills, supplemented by a higher level of basic education, emphasis on technical skill preparation for entrance into employment has been shifted from the high school level to post high school levels.

3. *Housing and Land Loans.*—The title affixed to this program is somewhat misleading, inasmuch as the program, as we understand it, is to guarantee loans

made by lending agencies to individuals. The program proposes that the tribe would guarantee 50% up to $3,000 per loan. We could not determine from the information submitted whether the tribe has discussed this guarantee matter with any of the banks which ordinarily would serve the tribal membership. Tribes which have undertaken this type of program have usually provided for a higher percentage guarantee. If this matter has not been taken up with prospective banks, this should be done at the earliest convenient date as it may be necessary to increase the guarantee percentage. It will be necessary for the tribe to enter into appropriate guarantee agreements with the bank or banks subject to the approval of the Commissioner.

The use of residual Cherokee Nation judgment funds is authorized by the Act of October 9, 1962 (76 Stat. 776). Section 3(b) provides that such funds ". . . may be advanced or expended for any purpose that is authorized by the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation and approved by the Secretary of the Interior." It is our view that this authorization extends authority to the Principal Chief to execute loan guarantee agreement(s) on behalf of the Cherokee Nation. There is currently before the Congress proposed legislation calling for authority which would permit the Secretary of the Interior to guarantee 90 percent of loans to $60,000. It should be understood that if the Secretary's proposed guarantee legislation is enacted into law, the Nation may, if so determined by the Principal Chief, suspend its loan guarantee program.

4. *Home Improvement for Cherokees in Cooperation with Public Housing Administration—Self-Help Program.*—We fully agree that one of the major needs of many Indian families is for assistance in home improvement. The Oklahoma State Legislature recently enacted legislation which we understand liberalizes assistance by the Public Housing Administration. We are, with the Public Housing Administration, currently in the process of determining the impact of the State's enactment.

5. *Educational Loans.*—The objectives of this program are highly desirable, and the tribe is commended for allocating funds for this purpose. Careful thought should be given by the tribe in formulating the administrative procedures necessary to establish and carry out a loan program of this type. We shall, upon your request, be glad to furnish you copies of approved educational loan programs which might serve as helpful guidelines in the development of procedures for the Cherokee Nation.

6. *Research, publication and preservation of the History of the Cherokee Nation.*—We believe this proposal is an excellent one. No doubt, the tribe will endeavor to compile the history of the Cherokee to include the pre-colonial period. It would appear to us that time, the allocation of $50,000 for this part of the tribe's program may be more than will be needed. However, we are not recommending that the fund allocation be reduced as there will be ample opportunity to reallocate the funds for other purposes should the allocation be in excess of the program needs.

7. *Cherokee Drama and Shrine at Tahlequah in Cooperation with Cherokee Historical Society.*—It is our understanding that this drama and shrine undertaking will be carried out in cooperation with the State Historical Society, and that the Historical Society has already expended funds authorized by the State in the development of certain phases of the preliminary planning.

8. *Development of the 40-acre Industrial Tract near Tahlequah.*—We have no questions with respect to the allocation of funds for the installations proposed for the development of this industrial site. We assume that the amount of funds allocated will be adequate for the work to be done.

9. *Arts and Crafts Center and Cherokee Council House On 6 acres of the 40-acre Industrial Site near Tahlequah.*—We believe both these proposals will be beneficial to the tribe. It is our understanding that a survey with respect to the arts and crafts potentials will soon be available. The survey should serve to guide the tribe in the development of its Arts and Crafts Center. Without specific details, the $50,000 allocation appears to be a modest amount for the purposes proposed.

10. *Tribal Specialist.*—A tribal employee with the proposed supervisory responsibilities should certainly be helpful to the tribe in carrying out its programs. It is suggested that the Area offer its assistance to the tribe in formulating the contract for the proposed employment. The contract will be subject to your approval.

11. *Budgeting of Tribal Funds for Tribal Operations and Contingencies.*—The allocation of $200,000 with all other tribal funds accrued and accruing for tribal operational purposes, subject to annual budgeting, is an excellent proposal. This procedure will assure the orderly continuity of the tribe's programs.

In a subsequent telephone conversation with you by representatives of this office you mentioned that details of the above-cited program objectives were being formulated and that it may in several instances be necessary to alter some of the general objectives, but such alterations should not necessarily affect the basic principles of the program. We are confident that the principles of the proposed program will benefit the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and its members. The above-cited eleven (11) program principles are approved pursuant to authority delegated to me in Order 2508, Section 11(m), 141AM 2.1(m), and in accordance with the Act of October 8, 1962 (76 Stat. 776).

It is recognized that the tribe will want to launch some of the programs as soon as possible following the formulation of the detailed plans. In order to expedite this phase or the overall program, you are hereby authorized to approve the detailed plans for each principle provided that the combined total of the individual programs does not exceed the $2,000,000 and the scope of the individually programs is within the principles herein approved. Where it becomes necessary to revise the fund allocations to the extent that they will exceed the overall $2,000,000 and the basic principles need to be completely altered, such revisions are to be submitted to this office for approval consideration.

We know that the Area staff and tribal members have put in a lot of work and given much thought to the development of this program. You and your staff, the tribal officials and members of the tribe are commended for the excellent program objectives presented.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN O. CROW, *Acting Commissioner.*

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA., *February 27, 1968.*

Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
Subcommittee Indian Education, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

SENATOR KENNEDY: It is requested that the contents of this letter be made part of hearings on Indian Education held at Oaks Mission, Oaks, Oklahoma, February 19, 1968.

I Archie Sam, full blood Cherokee Indian of Oklahoma do sincerely believe that many problems on education that exists among the Cherokees will be solved as well as the problems of Welfare, Jobs, Health, Fractionated Land Heirship, Legal Aid, plus many problems in different areas when the Cherokees have the opportunity to go to the polls to exercise their votes in election to elect a tribal chief. This will afford an opportunity for the Cherokees to choose their leader, freely participate in tribal affairs, promote activities in local government, provide guidelines along with their cultural values blended with modern ways to guide the destiny of the future generation.

Interest and participation in tribal activities was suppressed by a federal statute, Act of April 26, 1906 (34 Stat. 137), Final Disposition of Tribal Affairs of Five Civilized Tribes. The law says that tribal chiefs will be appointed by the President of US, now this is delegated to Secretary of Interior by Executive Order #10250 June 5 1951 asc published in Federal Register. Government appointed chiefs of Five Civilized Tribes are accepted by the Indians as government officials placed over the Indians and they do not represent the Indians or speak for the Indians. All the appointed tribal chiefs have been in the appointed positions for a long time, some as long as 19 years, this is indicative that Secretary of Interior had a total disregard the plight of the Indians, since it is known fact that Indians have a low income level, high death rate, unemployed high, school dropout high. The mentioned conditions existed among the Indians yet the present chiefs continued to be reappointed for the positions while the Indians stood by and looked since they are helpless to do anything against US government.

Those that "Powers Be" is well knit group perhaps consisting the appointed chiefs, Council Members, Bureau of Indian Affairs, US Public Health Service and other government employees. These individuals usually meet with Indian Council and talk about what they are going to do for the Indians. It would be interesting to probe into the office of Secretary of Interior to see who have been recommending that the present chiefs be reappointed year after year. I think it will probably be found that those been making the recommendations are that of Non-Indians.

Regarding the Indian Education the following suggestion is provided: The Indian populated area the elementary schools in grades from 1st to 7th should be patterned along with Bilingual Education Program.

Following are the reasons given:

1. A student from Non-English speaking Indian family would feel more comfortable at school, be encouraged to attend regular, have an incentive to learn if Bilingual Teacher provided in such schools.
2. Indian student entering school is lost, discouraged by strange activities. The confusion and frustrations to a child would be eliminated if a Bilingual Teacher would orient the child what the activities are and that they are for the benefit of the student.
3. When a student fails to comprehend in studies the Bilingual Teacher could cover the confused area in native language thus a student learns and keep apace with others.
4. Indian child entering a school is lost due to strange language and behavior of others. Indian child needs someone that it can converse with for help in studies, in illness and in any needs that a student may have.

Bilingual Teacher should be required in grades 1 to 4th in schools where Indian children do attend. In grade 5 to 7th it should be determined by the school board if there is any need for Bilingual Teachers. Native language required will be the native language of resident dominant tribe in which the school is located.

Bilingual Teacher will help and council Indian students. Will seek out the potential ability of each Indian students. Will keep check on progress, health and activities of each Indian students. Will work with parents to seek best solutions for the benefit of Indian students.

Bilingual Teachers will have a thorough knowledge of language, culture, traditions, customs, behaviors and native values of dominant tribes.

It is believed that there are many qualified Cherokees in Cherokees Nation to become Bilingual Teachers soon as the program is implemented.

Sincerely yours,

ARCHIE SAM.

THE CHEROKEE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
Tahlequah, Okla., February 27, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
Hon. PAUL FANNIN,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: During recent hearings conducted by your sub-committee on Indian Education and other related problems in Eastern Oklahoma, certain statements were made before your subcommittee which were patently incorrect and improper. For the record, we would like to furnish you some pertinent facts, easily determined by anyone truly interested from records fully available to all concerned.

For the record, this Society is a purely private, non-profit, educational and cultural organization incorporated as a legal entity in the State of Oklahoma. We are also registered as a charitable organization. It is governed by a Board of Directors, Cherokee as well as non-Cherokee, who are interested individually in its objects and aims. Our Board members are responsible citizens, serving as Board members without pay, remuneration or expense reimbursement of any kind.

We are a membership organization, with over 600 members scattered throughout the United States and some foreign countries. 54 of these are Life members and 9 are Endowment members. While we maintain no statistics relative to those claiming Cherokee Indian heritage, perhaps ¾th of our members claim some degree of Cherokee blood.

Our Society is interested in the cultural heritage and history of the Cherokee Tribe, in the economic welfare of its members, and in the preservation of the fascinating history and culture of the most interesting Indian tribe in the Nation.

To help accomplish our long-range purposes and goals, our initial effort is being devoted to development of a Cherokee Cultural Center. This is a four-phase project described in the attached material. This project has provided and will continue to provide gainful employment for a number of Cherokee Indians. It will portray in a tasteful and professional manner for the Indian and non-Indian alike, the history of the Cherokee and his rapid advance from a primitive warrior tribe to a relatively advanced society, and its assimilation into the society and government of Eastern Oklahoma.

Development of the Cherokee Cultural Center is a cooperative project involving funds from many sources, private and public. For example, the largest donor to date has been the State of Oklahoma which has invested $235,000 in the project.

The Cherokee Tribe, from residual funds remaining after settlement of a claim, contributed, or rather invested, $100,000. This was "seed" money, with the proviso that other agencies would participate in the program.

To date, payments on our own payrolls to Cherokee labor has exceeded $150,000, not including Cherokee labor used by contractors. A number of small businesses managed by Cherokees and tradespeople of Cherokee descent have also participated in the construction to date. Cherokee employees of this Society averaged 27 in number per week in 1966, our first year, with a peak of 44; in 1967 the weekly average was 35 with a peak employment of 62. Most of these persons were previously unemployed, and a number of our employees—by their own testimony—have stated this was "the best job they had ever held." I believe this effectively refutes some of the erroneous testimony before your sub-committee relative to Cherokee employment and use of Cherokee monies. Incidentally, by far the greatest number of these employees were "full blood" by any definition.

While I have recounted facts only for our particular development, this is not the entire story. As a result of our activity, a sizeable tourist industry is being promoted by a large number of entrepeneurs. This has resulted in additional employment and this is just the beginning. As the area is advertised and developed, more and more jobs will be created. Historically, additional industrial development has followed such activity.

We also are concerned with the problems of Indian education in our area; it's improvement is one of our long-range purposes. We hope to renew in the young Cherokee, an understanding and appreciation of his heritage. We have evidence this is already being accomplished to some degree, even though we have only been in partial operation for one year. We have conducted regular classes for our 12–15 young Cherokee college student guides, with well over 100 hours of study of Cherokee history and culture. This has had a leavening effect of bringing an awareness of their own cultural heritage and background not only to the young people themselves, but also to their relatives and friends. Our text books have been in constant demand by other Cherokees who have heard about the program. The 40–50 employees of TSA–LA–GI Village, our reconstructed ancient Cherokee village, have also had some instruction in their history and heritage. Further, when we began construction, our workmen were given briefings on our entire program and its purposes with a slide lecture showing our plans and intended development.

A further statement was made, according to published accounts, relative to discrimination and prejudice involving Cherokees of the area. It is our considered opinion, and numerous full-blood Cherokees have since been contacted, that these statements are totally erroneous in this part of Oklahoma. Many of our business and professional men and women proudly proclaim their Cherokee ancestry. There is absolutely no limit on the nature or level of employment reached by Cherokees, full or partial-blood. A number of full-bloods are teachers in our schools, and some are principals of schools in the area. Many are supervisors or managers in private employment, as well as employers themselves. If discrimination does occur, it is the kind of discrimination or prejudice directed at some specific person who by his own personal habits and actions ask for such discrimination in any society—white, black, red, brown or yellow. These persons tend to excuse their personal idiosyncracies and bad habits by blaming somebody else—and the Indian of our area is no different from any other persons with similar habits or personality quirks. It is our considered opinion and our experience that claims of prejudice or discrimination of any type against Indians in Northeastern Oklahoma are without substantive foundation except in the minds of those who consciously use such claims for personal or other advantage.

In spite of some claims to the contrary, antipathy to the program of this Society—and other progressive programs designed to be beneficial to all Cherokees—is centered in a small group of dissident individuals who for reasons of their own are apparently opposed to any involvement not generated or controlled by themselves. Some of this agitation is stimulated by non-Cherokee activist organizations or individuals. These persons or groups do not take the time or trouble to determine facts, and in some case, manufacture "facts" to suit their purposes, according to our experience. Some of the "followers" apparently do not understand their position in an open society, or the need for long-range programs related to providing an awareness of the Cherokee culture and history without divorcement from existing society, or to providing jobs on a sound economic basis without a basic welfare program background. From the records available, it would appear that some of the witnesses who appeared before your sub-committee were carefully chosen for their level of opposition rather than their degree of responsibility or ability to offer constructive alternatives or agreements to work together for the benefit of all Cherokees.

As a Society, we are dedicated to the proposition that the Cherokee heritage is a proud heritage, to be proudly displayed and understood by Cherokee and non-Cherokee alike, and that every effort should be made to retain for posterity a knowledge and understanding of the tremendous advances made by the tribe in its historical attempts to assimilate a non-Indian culture while at the same time retaining what they considered good in their own heritage. We are also dedicated to the proposition that providing jobs is better than providing welfare, and that the kind of jobs resulting from our activities will provide employment for many Cherokees not otherwise trainable for skilled trades with many Cherokees employed in jobs related to the services required for the tourist industry—the third largest industry in Oklahoma. We are also dedicated to the proposition that a more pervasive approach to the problems of Indian education, insofar as our particular influence is concerned, can be achieved through stimulating a study and an awareness of the total Cherokee history and culture, and that the young Cherokee will respond to this perhaps indirect educational process by being more proud of his background thereby recognizing that he can compete equally with current society through his own efforts—as so many have demonstrated already. Other results of our activity are self-evident.

We did wish to provide your sub-committee with some substantive information relative to some of the activity that is going on with respect to retaining an understanding of the Cherokee culture. We also wished to set the record straight with respect to employment of Cherokees in the area and the use of any Cherokee moneys for promotion of Cherokee employment. We also wished to comment on some of the extremely "partisan" statements giving an inaccurate picture relative to the status of Cherokees in Northeastern Oklahoma.

Our services, within our capabilities, are available to any individual, group, committee or organization interested in the improvement—economically, educationally, culturally—of the area of the old Cherokee Nation and the descendants of the proud Cherokee tribe.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

M. A. HAGERSTRAND, *Executive Vice President.*

EXCERPT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CHEROKEE NATION, FEBRUARY 24, 1968

Motion was made by Earl Crawford that the Tribe proceed with the construction. Seconded by Tommy Ray Morton. Motion carried.

General Business Manager explained the design for the building. "We had four different companies to come and give us quotes on their building. These buildings come predesigned. You can buy them unassembled, and you can erect it yourself, or you can buy the building and they furnish all the floor plans and building plans are already there. You can build the floor and the foundation, and they erect the building. Or, of course, you can say, we want a building and they completely design it and build it." He advised that the estimate of $130,000 is based on the company providing all the plans; the tribal construction crew will build the slab and foundation and the company will come in and erect it themselves from the slab upward. The company will provide the plans for the floor.

Motion was made by C. C. Victory that the Tribe adopt this plan for the building. Seconded by N. B. Johnson. Motion carried.

General Counsel Earl Boyd Pierce opened the discussion concerning the recent hearings held at Oaks Mission near Twin Oaks, Oklahoma, by Senators Kennedy from New York and Fannin from Arizona as members of a Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education. He began his discussion by re-emphasizing for the group, certain views which Chief Keeler expressed years ago about his hopes, aspirations and determinations with a bootstrap operation to demonstrate to the world that the Cherokees can take care of themselves if given the economic opportunities. He reviewed the various projects, which he described as worthy of the best in the Nation, which Chief Keeler had launched through his vision and determination. At this point, Mr. Pierce expressed great disappointment in the fact that Senator Kennedy came to this area but by words, deeds and action of his advance man, he was kept from seeing the projects which would show the progress made by the Cherokee people. He read an article from the February 23, 1968, issue of Time Magazine entitled POVERTY, which tells of Senator Kennedy's visit to Vortex, Virginia, to assess the plight of once proud Appalachian mountaineers who rank today among the poorest of America's poor. This article tells of Senator Kennedy's conclusion during that trip, "Welfare's not the answer, . . . it's jobs." Mr. Pierce closed his statement by expressing his view that if Senator Kennedy is honest in his purpose in coming here in his efforts to help the Cherokee Tribe, and is sincere in his statement that jobs is all we need for our people, he should have been given the opportunity to look at the conditions in this area and should have seen what Chief Keeler and the Executive Committee are attempting to do here *to bring jobs to our people.* (Underscoring supplied.)

Continuing the discussion on Senator Kennedy's visit, Mr. Keeler expressed the following views: "We have a lot of problems, and we can start with this site right here. We can start with almost anything that has been done. We have commissioned Crosslin Smith to go out and help organize various communities and select representatives. I think we have made some real progress. We have asked Ralph Keen to zero in on many problems. We have asked the Bureau's persistence to help. I think that the Cherokees are right at a crosroads. We are at this kind of crossroads—I have a new job that has a lot of responsibilities. I am not sure I am doing it too well, but I am trying; but we're at a crossroads where, if we can't find a way of really working together, I think that we can really fall quickly. Ralph, I want to tell you I have had many people tell me that they appreciated the position you took at the hearings. You added some real stature to the Cherokee people in your presentation to Mr. Kennedy. Actually, I feel this way. I have never held back anything that I believe. I feel that this thing could really be a Godsend to us in this regard. I think it can shake our complacency up a little bit. I believe it becomes all the more clear to me that if we have ever had an opportunity to work together, now is the time we ought to be doing it. I don't think there is any doubt but what the public is back of the kind of programs we have been trying to do here. I am talking about the State of Oklahoma. The Cherokees are on trial, and I think we really have to look right. Are we equal to the kind of challenge we have? Personally, there has never been any doubt in my mind. In this new job I have, I have been real busy. I have not had the opportunity to follow as close as I have in the past the many things the Cherokees are doing. I get a little bit of information here and this little bit here and so on. I think if there was ever a time for us to really work together, we ought to start with this meeting today. I think the Cherokee people are a great people. Many, many times I have almost cried for how great they are, and a lot of people have said, 'I understand that you don't want to serve any longer as Chief.' Certainly I think we need to elect a Chief. I am for that 100%. I think the people should have a chance to cast their vote. I think this work that we have started here with these communities can be of tremendous help. Bill Keeler will never run out on anybody that is trying to help himself. I think the Cherokee people are responding. I think the work that you have been doing—I don't believe we will ever be able to recognize at this time how much it is. It stems from what people want and it is tremendously important. I would hope that all of you would join with me. We have had our differences. I think we have an opportunity here for the Cherokees to show something that no other people in this country have had. Somehow or other, I just have a hunch that the good Lord in his wisdom is giving us this opportunity, but we have got to work together. It will take the combined efforts of everyone—you know, no one person can do anything alone. It is what a lot of people can do together. It stems right from the heart—what you want to dedicate yourself to. I think the government—the Bureau of Indian Affairs—I think they have dedicated themselves, because they are seeing a people that are trying to do something. It brings out the best in all of us. I understand Mr. Harrington has to get down with the Creeks today. There are problems there. There are a lot of people that are out to try to submarine the best efforts on the part of the Indian people to rise up. Personally, if we didn't do anything else today at this meeting, if we could all conclude that it is going to take tolerance on all our part, because we have a multitude of people that are working—many times working against us. I am not sure what Mr. Kennedy's motives were on his recent visit, but I was greatly disturbed when the first man that Mr. Parmeter approached here in this part of the country was Clyde Warrior to find out what the Senator should do. Clyde isn't a Cherokee. I was greatly disturbed when I found out that originally he wasn't going to consider the people who had been selected by the communities to represent them. I think the thing that I got out of it was this. I told him we had tried to explain what the Tribe was trying to do. If he had any real intentions, and the Senator did, I thought they should hear both sides of the story. Folks, I meant it. I think we're at a crossroads. We all need to search our hearts at this moment. I get a letter once in a while that kind of jerks me up real short when they say 'This great company you are running, is that more important to you than the Cherokees?' Actually, it isn't. I get a letter and they say for instance, 'You have got the problems with the health situation, with the hospital situation, the sanitation program and why have we not gotten it here?' I go right down the line to everyone of you here and I can tell you I have heard this and that. Folks, I came down here this morning for one real purpose and I came down because it seemed to me that, and I go back to what I am talking about, we have had a long-range project. We have had a vision. Our people are responding. We have had many, many problems. I'll tell you what I believe. I believe the Cherokee people are equal to every bit of it. The Cherokee people are going to rise above this, and we're going to show the public, the State of Oklahoma, what we can do. We have a lot of business to take care of today. I would hope that you would all raise your hand and say, 'I am for the Cherokees.' I think it would be entirely in order if the Cherokees express here their disappointment in the Senator from New York for the manner in which this problem was handled. There is one thing I am sure about Earl Boyd Pierce, and it is his intentions. A lot of people have said, Earl, that you become very filled up with emotion for the Cherokees. You spend a lot of time on your feet talking about the problems of the Cherokees, but Earl, there has never been any doubt in my mind where your heart is. I would like to ask how many of our people here from our elected members appreciate the kind of treatment that you had to face in the fact that they didn't give you the privilege to talk. I am not trying to condemn Senator Kennedy, but I think there should be some expression from the Executive Committee."

Johnson O'Field told of his experience with the recent visit of Senators Kennedy and Fannin as follows: "I had about as close a contact with Senator Kennedy as an Indian could have in conversation. To me, being a Cherokee, and I think I know some of the problems of the Cherokees; during Kennedy's visit to Peters' home, who is a full blood with the slightest amount of information to give Mr. Kennedy on his visit to his home, was never briefed. He didn't know what Mr. Kennedy was coming for. Incidentally, I went to this home to give support to our Cherokee, which I am happy that I did, because Mr. Peters was out in the yard when I arrived at his home about 20 minutes before Senator Kennedy's arrival. Mr. Peters wanted to know of me—what he is doing, what does he want, who is coming, what for, why is he coming to my place? Like a good Samaritan, I told Mr. Peters, who is a full blood and would rather talk Cherokee than English, that I came to give my support to him. I am happy that I did. I went to his home to help him analyze some of the things maybe that Kennedy would want. That made Tom feel like listening to Mr. Kennedy. Earl made the statement about the problems of the other areas of the country. To me, he submarined everyone of the representatives that were witnesses. I didn't like it. The wrong people were witnesses. I don't think they came to the right people to start with for this hearing. Some of it may be good, but I know a lot of it wasn't. I have a report here of the hearings—statement. Addressing Mr. Keeler, he stated, I want you to have them. Going back to Mr. Peters. The gentleman is a welfare recipient. He likes to make a few extra dollars by cutting some wood and working as a seasonal worker for his family. I suppose his welfare check is earmarked for different things—health, clothing, food and whatever welfare provides in the program for him. Tom is a typical Cherokee. He has the incentive to do a lot more for his family if he had a job. He did say that he had to go too far for employment to make decent wages. Some of the questions that Mr. Kennedy asked Tom is in line of education. How are your children being treated at school? Are the teachers taking interest in your children? Are they being properly taught? Mr. Kennedy then stated that he would like to know why the food stamp program was not initiated in this area. That I couldn't answer. I have told you a few things that Mr. Kennedy said. I am proud that I could go to Tom's house and give him my support. I might add, as long as I can walk and talk, I'll be working for the Cherokees."

General Counsel Pierce read excerpts from a report made at the hearing at Oaks Mission. In closing, he said, "The Bureau of Indian Affairs has helped the Indian people here and I mean in many, many ways, and they are still helping them."

Deputy Area Director stated he was compelled to say something concerning the statement made by Overton James, a representative of the Division of Indian Education, State Department of Education. Mr. Carshall stated, "I know what he meant when he gave his figures. These figures pertained to the Johnson

O'Malley students only. There are many Indian students attending public school in municipalities with population of 500 or more who don't participate in Johnson O'Malley. What he meant was that the report wasn't complete; that there are many students not included in the report he gave." He continued, "As far as the Bureau of Indian Affairs is concerned, we felt real strongly about the hearing. We had no part in it. We did have the opportunity to talk with Mr. Parmeter, before he went to Ralph's office, about people he should contact and some of the people he mentioned he was going to have as witnesses. We disagreed with him; we told him we would have nothing to gain; that maybe he was wrong. I just want you to know that I can say without any reservation, we in the Muskogee Area Office are behind you 100%."

Following are a few comments, opinions expressed, and observations made of Senator Kennedy's visit:

> Everyone was proud of the statement made by the General Business Manager. The three community leaders, Messrs. McClain, Standingwater and Manus did an excellent job. They told of many things that are being done out in the communities. It was the feeling that they deserved real commendation.
>
> Even though we were out-numbered in our witnesses, we were not out-numbered by our well wishers. It was observed that most of the people in the group were Cherokees.
>
> It was the feeling that the Senator does not know his people on his staff; that there is an area that may be identified as "no man's land"; that it is his forerunner that the Senator should find out about. The Senator's intentions may be good to a degree, but it is one of his workers he should find out about.

General Counsel Pierce expressed his feeling that one legal fact should be brought out and should not be forgotten. He stated, "This may be the reason why Senator Kennedy didn't want me to come to the meeting. Senator Kennedy knows the fact that he was Attorney General of the United States in 1962, when he approved the bill that specifically authorized the Principal Chief of the Nation to advance and expend our reverted funds. Senator Kennedy personally knew that the Senate was much concerned with what we were going to do with our funds that we had won in that judgment. He left in the bill which he approved, Senator Kennedy did this as Attorney General, the expressed language authorizing Bill Keeler the Chief of the Nation, full and exclusive power—subject only to the approval of the Secretary—to advance and expend our tribal funds. His brother was sitting in the White House at the time and signed that bill—President Kennedy, Senator Kennedy knows that just as well as I know. He knew that when he came down here. That's why I didn't go. I didn't think he wanted me there."

Chief Keeler asked if it was the feeling of the Executive Committee that we should express to Mr. Kennedy our disappointment in the fact that probably he didn't get a true picture. There being no objection, he so ordered. It was his feeling we should say that unfortunately time probably didn't permit him to get into the real problem; that at the same time we should tell him some of the things the Tribe has been doing.

The minutes should reflect there was a show of hands unanimously that the Cherokees were disappointed; that we expressed en masse our disappointment that probably Senator Kennedy was not aware of the work that has been done by the Cherokee Nation and that we would hope that he would have an opportunity to get into this in greater detail at a later date, and submit this as a part of the hearing. * * *

BARTLESVILLE, OKLA., *March 4, 1968.*

Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Indian Education,
New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: The Executive Committee of the Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Oklahoma in session on February 24, 1968, at the Restaurant of the Cherokees near Tahlequah, Oklahoma, voted to go on record expressing regret and disappointment that Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Senator Paul Fannin, Chairman and Member of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, during their visit to the Cherokee area on February 19, 1968, did not have opportunity to review and observe in greater detail the several educational and training programs under way among the Cherokee Indians of Eastern Oklahoma, designed to raise the social and economic conditions of the Cherokees.

The Executive Committee further voted that a report be prepared setting forth efforts and overall accomplishments of the Cherokee Tribe since the Executive

Committee was established at the convention of duly enrolled Cherokees by blood, held in Tahlequah, July 30, 1948, at which time the late Jesse B. Milam of Claremore, Oklahoma, was Principal Chief, and following his death in 1949, W. W. Keeler of Bartlesville, Oklahoma, was appointed Principal Chief of the Cherokees and has served in this position since that time.

The Executive Committee and Principal Chief wish to express deepest appreciation and grateful thanks to the many individuals, committees, groups, organizations, agencies of service, both Federal and State, to the State of Oklahoma, and the Oklahoma Congressional leaders, the various media of communication—T.V., radio, the newspapers of the local area and those extending out over the State and Nation, the local county officials throughout the Old Cherokee Nation, and to the local Tahlequah Chamber of Commerce, all of whom have worked untiringly in the many accomplishments which tend to make for a better way of life for the Cherokees of Eastern Oklahoma.

At the 1948 Convention, an Executive Committee was established to consider and undertake proper action to promote the general welfare of all Cherokees in Oklahoma and to assist Cherokee tribal officials in all Cherokee matters. This Executive Committee is made up of a representative from each of the old nine districts making up the Old Cherokee Nation, plus a Committeeman-at-Large, a representative for the Texas Cherokees, and a Chaplain, who also served many times as official interpreter. The late Rev. Jim Pickup, whose death occurred in May 1967, served as Chaplain from 1949 to his death. The Executive Committee, by Resolution No. 3 adopted at the 1948 Convention, was authorized:

"*Resolved,* That the Chairman of the convention be directed and authorized to appoint a permanent Standing Executive Committee of nine (9) members from the body of this convention, whose duties will be to assist the Tribal Officials in all Cherokee matters and presently to consider the question of employment of an Attorney or Attorneys to represent all duly enrolled Cherokee Indians by blood in Oklahoma, including the Eastern or Immigrant Cherokees, the Western or Old Settler Cherokees, The United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma, the so-called Seven Clans Cherokee Society, and The Texas Cherokees, all being a part and representative of the whole Cherokee people or Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma, in the presentation an prosecution of all claims, legal and/or equitable, of said Cherokees of every kind and character before the Indian Claims commission, or any other forum established by law, and that said Commitee immediately enter upon the consideration of the matter of employment of counsel for said Cherokees and make report thereupon to this convention.

"Further, the said Executive Committee shall be and is hereby empowered to exercise during recess any and all powers that this or any other assembly of the duly enrolled Cherokee Indians by blood in Oklahoma could rightfully do in regular convention assembled. Such Committee is hereby directed to adopt necessary by-laws, rules, and regulations which shall provide for the filling of vacancies thereon by the remaining members thereof, as such vacancies may, from time to time occur.

"It shall advise with the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, prepare and present suitable memorials and resolutions to the Congress of the United States and to the President. It shall receive reports from the Attorneys for the Cherokee people, and in the event of an offer of compromise and settlement of any claim now pending or hereafter to be filed on behalf of the Cherokee's it shall have the power to authorize such Attorneys to accept or reject such offer or offers as the case may be.

"The Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation shall be a member of an ex-officio Chairman of such Executive Committee, with power to convene the same, but such committee may convene a meeting of its members by a majority thereof signing a call therfore.

No. 1. Amendment to add a delegate at large (C. C. Victory, Tulsa, Oklahoma) representing Cherokees living outside Cherokee Nation.

No. 2. Amendment to permit representation of The Texas Cherokees to be members of Executive Committee (W. Wanye Keeler, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.)

"Done in Convention on this 30th day of July, 1948.

Witness the hand and seal of the President of the Convention and Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

JESSE B. MILAM,

President of the Convention and Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

"Attest:

MARIE L. HAYES,
Secretary of the Convention."

The Cherokee Foundation, Inc., which has had the full support of the Principal Chief and the Executive Committe and many others interested in the welfare of the Cherokee Indians. . . . was incorporated on March 3, 1952, to obtain and administer funds and properties to improve the welfare, culture, health and morale of the Cherokees. This organization has made many contributions to assist the Cherokees, especially Cherokee school children and at Christmas time many Cherokee families have been remembered with Christmas baskets of food and clothing. Funds of this Foundation are derived from dontations and contributions of individuals, groups and organizations interested in assisting Cherokees. One recent example of the type of assistance rendered through this organization to needy Cherokees is the purchase of a special type mattress for $635.00 for a young Cherokee, 25 years of age, who is a paraplegic.

The Cherokee National Historical Society, Inc., was formed and incorporated under Oklahoma law on April 18, 1963, as a non-profit corporation for charitable, religious, educational or scientific purposes. This Society has assisted the Cherokee people in many ways, the most recent being the sponsoring of the Cherokee Cultural Center on which construction was begun on Febraury 23, 1966, and opened on June 24, 1967. According to information received during 1966, $57,851.51 was expended for Cherokee labor with an average weekly employment of 27, and reaching a peak weekly employment of 44. The State of Oklahoma in 1966 paid $4400.00 for Cherokee labor on this project. During 1967, $90,187.82 was expended for Cherokee labor, with an average weekly employment during the year of 35 and a peak employment of 62.

Types of education involved in the employment program were—each employee received 80 hours of training, principally in the arts and village orientation. Guides received over 100 hours of instruction in Cherokee history and culture. Classes in Cherokee history and culture were conducted four days a week, one hour a day, for the months of July and August 1967.

Other boards, committees, tribal authorities which are made up of Cherokees working to assist the Cherokee people in every way possible will be discussed.

One of the older boards which has been working for several years is the Cherokee Board of Trustees, established to manage and improve Cherokee tribal lands in order to utilize these lands to fullest measure for the benefit of the Cherokee Indians:

The Cherokee tribal lands in Oklahoma consist of 17,877 acres (IRA) owned by the Tribe, and 18,749 acres (RA) government lands leased by the Tribe. This total acreage under tribal control consists of 36,626 acres, divided into four separate projects:

	Acres
Kenwood Project, Delaware County	22, 646
Candy Mink Springs, Adair County	13, 597
Grand River (Yonkers), Mayes County	120
Rocky Ford, Cherokee County	263

There are 528 acres cropland, 2,612 acres abandoned cropland, 30,784 acres timbered pasture, and 2,250 acres improved pactures.

Sixty-three tracts of this land are leased for agricultural purposes. All the operators, other than three, are Indian. Thirty-three houses, with garden spots, are leased by permit to Indians who have income from some other source.

A Board of Trustees was appointed to manage this property. On January 1, 1956, there was $29,769.49 in tribal funds on deposit from these lands. From January 1, 1956, to December 31, 1967, collections from leases and permits were $131,169.22. Expenses on improvements (repairs, maintenance, conservation work) amounted to $141,860.13 for this same period, leaving a balance in this account of $19,078.58 on January 1, 1968.

Some of the improvements carried out on this property since January 1, 1956. consist of the following practices:

1,417 acres brush clearing valued at $70,800.
4,236 acres brush control valued at $16,900.
162 miles fencing valued at $120,400.
1,948 acres pasture sodding, valued at $58,400.
3 miles terraces valued at $6,000.
72 farm ponds valued at $14,400.

31 wildlife habitats—value $6,200.
337 acres pine plantings—value $16,800.
11 pole-type barns constructed at a cost of $11,200.
4 corrals constructed at a cost of $1,200.
21 cattle guards, constructed at cost of $5,200.
38 rooms added to houses, costing $37,100.
39 front porches rebuilt—$7,800.
19 houses made modern, at cost of $33,200.
2 houses completely remodeled, costing $5,000.
2 houses, lowered roofs—cost $3,000.
55 houses painted or stained—5,500.
3 houses torn down and rebuilt—$7,500.
52 houses—repaired interiors, sheet rocked, and floored—$26,000.
3 recreation areas.
1 lake constructed on tribal lands.
1 baseball field.
1 youth camp under development.

These accomplishments have been made through use of tribal funds, conservation improvements included in leases, labor provided through Title V Program, Accelerated Public Works Programs, and conservation work accomplished through the Heavy Equipment Operator training schools.

At present, there is a need for the following conservation practices and homestead improvements:

11,838 acres brush control at a cost of $48,100.
10,215 acres brush clearing at a cost of $520,100.
13,031 acres pasture planting, at a cost of $392,700.
149 miles fencing at a cost of $94,000.
90 stockwater ponds at a cost of $17,700.

The cost of homestead improvements needed consist of $15,600 repair work; $16,600 for construction of outbuildings, $27,500 for modernization of houses, $64,000 to construct new houses, and $1,700 for water supply.

A special committee was appointed by the Principal Chief to determine key tracts of lands which should be purchased to consolidate Cherokee tribal holdings for management purposes at the Kenwood and Candy Mink Springs Projects.

The Cherokee Tribe programmed $250,000 for loans to tribal members for building, repairing or modernizing homes and to give opportunity for individuals or the Tribe to purchase land, tract or tracts from heirs for the purpose of establishing legal title and improving the lands. The Credit Committee of the Cherokee Tribal Loan Program has completed thirty-two (32) loans, totaling $142,440. Twenty-two (22) loans, totalling $107,560.00 have been approved by the Credit Committee and are being processed for completion

A Cherokee Housing Authority Board of Commissioners was established in conformity with special legislation enacted by the Oklahoma State Legislature on June 18, 1965, and to meet requirements of the Public Housing Administration. In connection with this Housing Authority, five Cherokees have been selected to serve as an Advisory Committee to assist members of the Cherokee Housing Board in improving housing conditions for the Cherokees.

A Cherokee Hospital Committee made up of Cherokee tribal leaders was appointed in January 1967 to work with officials of the local and area United States Public Health Service officials in efforts to improve the Indian Health program. This Committee is cooperating and assisting in every way possible in the Indian Health program.

There is the Cherokee Sanitation Committee doing a fine job in helping the Cherokee Tribal Sanitation workers and U.S. Public Health Service in improving sanitation facilities among the Cherokees in Adair, Cherokee and Delaware counties. This program is extending to other counties. The Cherokee Tribe in cooperation with the Indian Division of the United States Public Health Service in improving sanitation facilities in Adar, Delaware and Cherokee counties, through the employment of Cherokee Tribal Sanitation Representatives paid from Cherokee Tribal Funds, has assisted 851 Cherokee homes with improved sanitation facilities and water supplies. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has cooperated and assisted in this sanitation program in every way possible.

There is the Cherokee Soil Conservation Committee, working with the Bureau of Indian Affairs officials and others, in improving Cherokee individual and tribal lands.

The work and accomplishments of the General Counsel of the Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Oklahoma is recognized. The Cherokees have benefitted greatly from the services of the General Counsel.

From 1907, until the Cherokee Outlet Claims Case was won in March, 1961, and finalized in 1961, and an award of $14,789,476.15, the Cherokee Tribal Treasury was depleted. . . . the Cherokees had no funds. . . . with the exception that in the late 1950's approximately $65,000 was recovered in settlement of a condemnation proceeding for certain lands previously purchased for the Cherokees by the United States as a rehabilitation project. The Cherokee Tribe had no funds with which to develop plans and programs to better the conditions of the Cherokees. This statement is not meant to minimize the efforts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other Agencies of Service who worked hard with tribal officials and leaders to improve the conditions of the Cherokee people. With the winning of this Claims Case, the financial picture of the Cherokees changed.

By the Act of October 9, 1962 (76 Stat. 776), Congress provided that these Cherokee Judgment Funds be distributed per capita to those persons whose names appear on the Cherokee of Oklahoma membership rolls, which were closed and made final as of March 4, 1907, or, if deceased, to their heirs and legatees.

Section 2(a) of the 1962 Act provided . . . "That proportional shares of deceased heirs amounting to $10.00 or less shall not be distributed, and no inherited share amounting to $5.00 or less shall be paid, and the money shall revert to the tribe;".

Section 3(a) of the Act provides . . . "All claims for per capita shares xxx shall be filed xxx not later than three years from the date of approval of this Act, . . . and the unclaimed shares shall revert to the tribe". Section 3(b) provides that . . . "Tribal funds that revert to the tribe pursuant to this Act, including interest and income therefrom, may be advanced or expended for any purpose that is authorized by the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation and approved by the Secretary of the Interior".

On December 7, 1964, the Executive Committee of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma voted that recommendations be prepared regarding the use for tribal purposes of the funds reverting to the Tribe. A special committee, with the Area Director and Assistant Area Director of the Muskogee Area Office, had a series of meetings for the purpose of planning and recommending to the Principal Chief a program for the use of these funds.

In May, 1965, the Executive Committee adopted a Resolution setting forth a "Declaration of Policies" calling for the use of these funds for programs which will benefit the Cherokees in the years to come. They set forth a proposed program for the use of funds reverting to the tribe and this recommended program for use of some $2,000,000 of these Judgment Funds was approved by the Secretary of the Interior on July 2, 1965 (actually by Deputy Commissioner John O. Crow).

Plans for carrying out these programs have been formulated as rapidly as possible and most of them are already underway . . . and as a result of the planned programs and others being planned, many Cherokees are benefitting and will continue to benefit.

Industrial development

Phillips Petroleum Company, through the efforts of President W. W. Keeler and Marvin Franklin, Director of Special Cooperative Projects, has given invaluable assistance to the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma in the promotion of industry. Three industries have located within the Cherokee area as the direct result of this cooperation.

Phillips Products Company, Inc. was established in Pryor, Oklahoma, in January 1966. This plant is currently employing 29 workers, 20 of whom are Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs On-the-Job Training Program is being used to train the Indian employees to produce plastic pipe.

Bates Manufacturing Company, Pryor, is currently training 23 Indians to manufacture bedspreads. A similar group will enter training on April 1. Workers are receiving 13 weeks instruction under a Bureau of Indian Affairs' institutional training program. Bates is expected to enter into an agreement soon to construct a plant in the Mid-America Industrial District near Pryor that will employ 300.

The Executive Committee of the Cherokee Tribe took the lead in acquiring 25 houses, which were being sold by Mid-America officials. These homes are near the industrial area where Indians are currently employed and where many more jobs will be created for them. Additional land in the area was also purchased by the Tribe which will be used for future housing projects. Many Indian workers are expected to live in the low-rental units.

Mr. Franklin also "opened the door" with McCall Manufacturing Company, Greenville, South Carolina, and negotiations with the Tribe and The Cherokee Foundation, Inc., resulted in a branch plant for Tahlequah, Oklahoma, which will be known as Starcross-Oklahoma, Inc. Phase one of the operation will employ 15 Indians, with this number reaching 50 in six months and 125 in a year or so. Starcross will produce household textile items. Indian workers will be trained under the Bureau's On-the-Job Training Program.

The service station operated by Phillips Petroleum Company on the Cherokee industrial site near Tahlequah serves as a training center for Indian boys. Permanent jobs as assistant service station managers await workers completing the instruction period. Ralph Keen, Tribal Business Manager, has been assisting in recruiting trainees.

The Cherokee Tribe under the leadership of Chief Keeler is working closely with community leaders, all State development agencies and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to obtain additional industry. Negotiations are in process at this time with other industrial prospects that could mean training and jobs for three or four hundred more Indians in Eastern Oklahoma. The interest and assistance given by Phillips Petroleum Company will undoubtedly result in additional industry for the area.

Heavy equipment training school, welding training and facilities sponsored by the Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma

Three training schools have been in operation in Adair and Delaware Counties, sponsored by the Cherokee Tribe, Cherokee Foundation, and Cherokee Soil Conservation Committee. Trainees for these schools were selected by the Employment Security Commission, with the assistance of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The MDTA was responsible for all instruction phases and furnished part of the materials and supplies.

The Cherokee Tribe spent $33,386.72 for operation and maintenance for three training periods (20 weeks each) at the Heavy Equipment School at Bull Hollow, and one session at Candy Mink Springs at Stilwell. Approximately $200,000 worth of equipment has been made available to these schools by the Cherokee Indian Soil Conservation Committee for operation and maintenance at the schools. Each training period handled 15 men.

Of the 15 men trained in the first group at Bull Hollow, which began in October, 1966, 14 obtained jobs. Two of these were earning $4.10 per hour working for a contractor on a pump back station from Lake Hudson (Chimney Rock Hydroelectric Project).

The second group graduated September 8, 1967. Fourteen graduated, and 11 obtained jobs related to their training. The other 3 were working, and possibly have obtained related employment. Two are working for a contractor at Shawnee, Oklahoma starting at $2.10 per hour. One is working for Montia Construction Co., Jay, Oklahoma, at $3.00 per hour.

The last group from Bull Hollow, and the first group from the Heavy Equipment Training School at Candy Mink Springs, Stilwell, were graduated the first week of February, 1968. Contractors have been contacting these people but due to adverse weather conditions, very few have reported to work. One land owner plans to put 4 men to work near Marble City in Sequoyah County, as soon as weather permits.

The Welding School at Stilwell, Oklahoma is still in the process of training the first group. This school (and the Candy Mink Springs Heavy Equipment School) was sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Branch of Employment Assistance). The Welding School is funded for two sessions running concurrently, training 20 men each session. The agencies and industries involved are very enthusiastic about this program. There should be no difficulty in placing these men within a reasonable length of time.

The two heavy equipment schools are inactive at the present time. Applications for funding have been cleared through State, Regional offices to the Washington office, for approval, we have been advised by the State office.

Applicants for these training programs must be unemployed. Some of the trainees came from welfare rolls.

Success story—Heavy equipment training school at Bull Hollow

Mr. Roger Cates, Soil Conservation Technician with the Soil Conservation Service at Jay, Oklahoma, has the following story to tell:

Mr. Cates happened to be visiting with a contractor, Mr. James Ennis of Route 3, Gentry, Oklahoma, while he was working on a dirt-moving job at Gravette, Arkansas, and overheard Delight Cochran approach Mr. Ennis and ask for a job. The contractor asked if he had any experience. Mr. Cochran replied, "I am a graduate of the Cherokee Heavy Equipment Training School at Bull Hollow located southeast of Jay, Oklahoma. I can clear timber, construct farm ponds, and do grade work." The contractor put Mr. Cochran to work.

Mr. Cates through curiosity checked back at a later date to see how Mr. Cochran was getting along on the job. The contractor, Mr. Ennis, said if he could find another man as good as Cochran to hire, he would let one of his other operators go.

[From the Pryor Jeffersonian, Nov. 23, 1967]

BULL HOLLOW BULLDOZER TRAINING PROGRAM PLACES ITS PEOPLE—NO DROP OUTS

It's a federally financed program, administered and supervised by state and local officials, aided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Cherokee Indian tribe, taught by local, practical-experience instructors—and it has proved 100 per cent effective.

That's a unique record in a time when it's almost standard procedure for enrollees in government poverty and retraining programs to drop out of schools for drop outs.

20-WEEK COURSE

Fifteen Mayes and Delaware county men are now well into a 20-week course that is training them to become bulldozer operators under the Manpower Development Training Act passed during the Kennedy administration. They are the third 15-man group to take the course.

Their "local" course, so called because all trainees are from an immediate area, is supervised and administered by the Manpower and Development Division of the State Vocational Technical Education Board and the Pryor office of the Oklahoma State Employment Service.

CHEROKEE LAND

The equipment they use is furnished by the Cherokee Tribe and the Indian Bureau of Affairs. The land they scrape and shape at Bull Hollow, an Indian community center deep in the hills east of Kenwood, belongs to the Cherokees.

An engineer from the Bureau of Indian Affairs visits the training center for one week of the course to give instruction and to stake out the ponds and timber-clearing projects they build during training.

The Pryor OSES office, headed by Ralph Agnew, selects and pays the trainees. Pete Gailey, Stillwater, assistant state supervisor for the Education Board, steers the entire program.

LOCAL INSTRUCTORS

The Cherokee tribe made the initial request for such a program, but enrollment is not limited to Indians or any other ethnic group.

Instructors are Woody Wilson, Jay, and Herschel Benge, Grove. They have attended technical schools, but most of the knowledge passed on to trainees comes from Benge's 25 years of field experience, Wilson's 13 years.

The men learn to operate—and operate on specific projects—10 bulldozers, two cranes, three graders, back hoes, scrapers, welding outfits—23 pieces of heavy equipment in all.

PRIDE IN PROGRAM

A once flinty field next to the Bull Hollow community center building and the building that houses a classroom, a welding area, a toolroom and a garage-repair area is probably the most bulldozed, hardest worked land in Oklahoma.

Everyone who has a hand in the program is proud of it—with reason.

Every class has been full. All of the 15 who enrolled in the first session almost a year ago finished the course, and, as far as is known, all got jobs. Two of the 15 who enrolled in the second group, recently graduated, did not finish the course, but neither dropped out. One got a job before the course ended; another was hurt seriously in a car wreck and is still hospitalized. All 13 graduates have jobs, 11 of them in the exact field in which they trained.

WELFARE CUT

"And at least four of those 11 came off welfare rolls to enroll," Agnew said Tuesday. His office pays each trainee $29 a week, plus $5 a week for each dependent up to and including six.

He also places them in jobs when they graduate. "But a lot of them get their own," he said.

All trainees are unemployed when they enter and are finding themselves in demand when they graduate.

"Of the 13 in the last class, all had jobs at the end of the second week after they had completed the course," Agnew said. "All were working in four states, eight in Oklahoma, one in Arkansas, and two each in Kansas and Texas.

FOUR COUNTIES ELIGIBLE

"It was undoubtedly the most successful local training course of any kind we've ever had."

Other similar area courses, all taught two to five years ago, were in small motors and appliance repair and nurses aide training.

Actually, four counties are included in the area from which trainees come—Washington and Adair as well as Mayes and Delaware. This course drew from the two latter counties.

The Bull Hollow project was the first in the state. Now a similar program is under way at Stilwell, but the Bull Hollow program is the only one now receiving Bureau of Indian Affairs cooperation.

COURSE DEMANDING

It isn't an easy course by any standard. Trainees work eight hours a day five days a week. Most of the work is in the field rather than in the classroom.

And if a machine breaks down, trainees repair it on the spot or in the garage.

"We do about everything except major transmission or engine overhaul," Wilson said. "It's an important part of the course. Many of the men will work in isolated areas where they have to do their own repair work."

STILWELL COURSE AIDED

Tuesday two men were building heavy, steel pipe crash or roll frames for bulldozers.

"They're for the Stilwell project," Wilson said. "They didn't have any pipe and the men dug this up at the old CCC camp up the road there."

This is the first course for Benge; Wilson has taught for the other two.

The gauged the caliber of operator the course produces. "Some are real good operators when they finish here," he said. "Real good. Others, all of them, I'd say, are at least at what we call the entry level. They can do a good job, but they may need a little more help."

STATE OFFICE HAPPY

Gailey said his office is happy with the results. He's at home in the Bull Hollow country; he taught vocational agriculture at Jay for 15 years.

He is sure the training will continue after the current course ends. "It'll continue as long as we have as good luck as that we've had in placing our trainees," he said.

The Cherokee Soil Conservation Committee has acquired the following heavy equipment which is loaned to the Cherokee Tribe for use at the heavy equipment schools:

D-8 Caterpillar bulldozers	5
D-7 Caterpillar bulldozers	10
D-6 Caterpillar bulldozers	1
R-4 Caterpillar bulldozers	1
Oliver Caterpillar bulldozers	1
TD-18 (IHC) Caterpillar bulldozer	1
Motor Graders	6
10-ton crane (crawler)	1
10-ton backhoe	1
Truck mounted cranes	2
Scraper	1
Yard cranes (10,000-pound capacity); 1 mounted on rubber tires; 1 crawler type	2

Electric welders	4
Acetylene cutting and welding rig	1
Crane crawler	1
Barber green ditch diggers	2
LeTourneau Westinghouse super C tractor	1
2½ ton Reo truck	1
½ ton pickup	4
1½ ton truck	1
Backhoe attachment (Garwood ½ yard)	1

Numerous assorted tools and shop equipment.

The equipment, buildings, etc., are worth in excess of $150,000. The land clearing if done by contract would cost approximately $40.00 per acre. The total value of land clearing would be between $20,000 and $25,000. 250 acres planted to Bermuda grass—value $5,000.00.

The Cherokee Tribe, as of August 25, 1967, has spent as follows:

To recondition and repair machinery	$17, 242. 67
Transporting equipment from Government installations	3, 603. 66
Gasoline and fuel	1, 383. 75
Total	22, 230. 08

The Employment Security Commission and Manpower Development and Training Program allocated approximately $113,362.00 to this program for the three heavy equipment training schools at Bull Hollow and one at Candy Mink.

Cherokee housing program

Project OKLA–45–3, 10 mutual-help units, Briggs Community. These units have been accepted from the contractor and the participant families have moved into their new homes. There is still some remaining work to be completed which will require warm weather working conditions. Funds have been withheld to assure the Housing Authority that this work will be completed as soon as possible.

Project OKLA–45–4, 16 mutual-help units, Baron-Wauhillau Community. The final inspection on this project is scheduled for March 5, 1968, with the proposed acceptance of the units by the Housing Authority on March 8. It is hoped that the participant families can move into these homes next week.

Project OKLA–45–1, 25 low-rent housing units, near Pryor, Oklahoma. A contract for rehabilitation of these homes in the amount of $69,790 has been made with the Okemah Lumber Company, Okemah, Oklahoma, and this work is progressing very well. The natural gas line to the project has been completed by the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company, and it is hoped to complete the rehabilitation project within the next two months. The Housing Authority has received some 60 applications for homes in this area.

Project OKLA–45–2, 16 low-rent units at Tahlequah. The architectural firm of Hudgins, Thompson, Ball and Associates, Inc., is now completing the final working drawings for these 16 units and plan to advertise for a construction contract about the first of April.

The Housing Authority of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma has submitted additional Program Reservation applications to the Housing Assistance Administration in Fort Worth, as follows: Brewer, Harris, McLain, Martin, Nash, Porum, and Vann Townships, Muskogee County, 35 mutual-help units, submitted August 29, 1967.

The following applications were all submitted on September 29, 1967:

Townships 1, 3 and 4, Delaware County, 90 mutual-help units.

Bryan, Murphy, River, and Saline Townships, Mayes County, 60 mutual-help units.

Cookson, Grandview, Hulbert, Briggs, Moodys, Park Hill and Peggs Townships, Cherokee County, 120 mutual-help units.

Bunch, Chance, Lees Creek, Stilwell, and Wauhillau Townships, Adair County, 120 mutual-help units.

Campbell, Long, Marble, and Vian Townships, Sequoyah County, 80 units of mutual-help housing.

We have been informed that the allocation of units to the Fort Worth Regional Office of HAA has been depleted at the present time; however, a new authorization is expected in the near future and the Housing Authority has been assured that they will process applications as soon as authorization is received.

Educational loans

Cherokee Judgment Funds have been programmed for educational loans ($200,000). Details governing the administration of this program are being finalized. These loans will be made primarily to assist Cherokee students to attend institutions of higher learning and for training beyond high school.

It will be the policy to use these loans *to supplement and not replace* aids now available.

There are already many sources of financial assistance available to students in financing their education. They will be expected to continue to seek these aids before being considered for a loan from this Cherokee Tribal Educational Loan Fund. In other words, these Cherokee Tribal Educational Loan Funds are intended to assist students who have no other means of financing their education.

Neighborhood Youth Corps program

In 1964 (September), The Cherokee Tribe was asked by the Department of Labor to participate in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. The Tribe sponsored project provided untold assistance to many high school youth of all races within the areas. This program was implemented in May 1965 and is still operating. Approximately 1800 children have received benenfits under this program, but due to proliferation of similar projects in Oklahoma, the project has been cut back and it is operating with 330 children participating. More than 40 schools in the Cherokee Nation are involved and participating and a sum in excess of $1,500,000 has been paid to the children (high school) and this has done much to encourage and assist them to stay in school. Sixty-five (65) per cent of the NYC graduates last year, 1967, went on to college as compared to approximately forty-five (45) per cent for all graduates in the United States. This program has been widely accepted, and is embraced by the Cherokee people. It has been reported that in most cases these young Indian boys and girls managed their money well . . . most often saving it in banks for school expenses and the like.

Adult education program for the Cherokee Tribe

The Adult Indian Education Program was first initiated two years ago. This is the third year of operation for these schools. Involved in this program are the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Cherokee Tribe, Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, State Department of Education and the public schools of Oklahoma.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs organized the program and officials go into each community to see that those people who are uneducated and of low income are enrolled in these schools. The BIA also assists with the curriculum and assists in selecting teachers and materials.

The Office of Economic Opportunity supplies the money to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and they in turn grant funds to the State Department of Education. The State Department of Education sets forth rules, regulations and accreditation to the public schools.

The Cherokee Tribe appropriated $7,000 in the tribal budget for 1967–1968 for the basic education program in the Cherokee Nation. This money was to be spent for:

1. $50 per student for transportation when needed.
2. $100 revolving fund that would be spent for arts and crafts materials. (Arts and crafts are used for motivation for academic work.) This would be sent to the public schools and the school officials would pay funds as needed. The $100 revolving fund would be returned to the tribal budget when the school district no longer wished to conduct classes.

Enrollment is not completed for 1968, but there follows information on the schools and enrollment for 1967.

ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES IN PROGRESS

Location	Meeting dates	Enrollment	Phone
Adair County: Peavine Dependent School, Route 3, Stilwell, Okla.	Tuesday and Thursday	13	774–7818
Cherokee County:			
Briggs, Route 3, Tahlequah, Okla	do	14	456–3138
Lost City, Route 1, Hulbert, Okla	Monday and Friday	39	456–6411
Delaware County:			
Colcord High School, Colcord, Okla	Tuesday and Thursday	12	326–8210
Kenwood Grade School, Route 1, Salina, Okla	do	15	434–5796
Leech Grade School, Leech, Okla	do	12	868–2277
Sequoyah County:			
Belefonte Grade School, Nicutt, Okla	Monday and Wednesday	18	SP6–3522
Carlile Grade School, Gore, Okla	Monday and Thursday	29	773–5626
Gans High School, Gans, Okla	do	18	SP5–2236
Henderson Grade School, Route 1, Bunch, Okla	Monday and Wednesday	17	775–2148
Total enrollment		188	

The Indian Community Pilot Program was designed and implemented in an effort: (1) to provide a learning situation suited to the particular needs of a particular group; (2) to test existing theory; and (3) to develop a better understanding of the needs and factors relative to the motivation of selected groups.

Much objective evidence which is now available, and much which will become available as the students who have participated in these classes are observed during the next few years, should provide convincing evidence as to the value of this approach to Adult Basic Education. Though this documentation is now available and will continue to accrue for several years, the ultimate value of this program should not be judged in relation to statistical evidence as such—but rather, in terms of the human factor involved. Many attitude changes which have occurred cannot be measured in objective terms and reported in the statistical data. In fact, the person looking for cold objective data would not perceive the very small changes of attitude which very likely are the most important and certainly the most enduring aspects of any learning experience.

It was the consensus of the planning committee that the time for statistical studies and surveys is past—and that the Indians, in particular, have been the subject of too much scientific investigation which was merely academic. It was upon this premise then that this "action" program was structured.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Student

In planning the pilot program, the following hypotheses were assumed with regard to the students. Each statement will be followed by observations which represent the typical. There are, of course, exceptions.

1. *Adult Undereducated Possess a Wide Range of Abilities.*—This is not only true of abilities, but also of interests. Even though all members of a class may be operating on approximately the same educational level relative to specific subjects—their special skills and abilities which have grown out of their unique interests—play a very significant role in the instructural approach. This is true at any level; it appears, however, to be especially significant for the adult who is functionally illiterate.

2. *Most Adult Indians Who Are Functionally Illiterate Are Educationally Retarded and NOT Mentally Retarded.*—As was anticipated, most participants were of average mental ability. Some were exceptional and learned at a very rapid rate. Students responded best and worked on levels most nearly commensurate with their ability where academic instruction was integrated with other skills in keeping with their experience and interests. Many have the capacity for secondary and higher educational achievement.

3. *Most Adult Undereducated Are Extremely Self-Conscious and Sensitive About Their Educational Limitations.*—This proved to be true and is a very significant factor in staffing and organizing the class. In several instances, individuals came and sat in their cars for the first few nights. Others waited on reports from members of the class. This fear diminished rapidly in most cases where the instructor manifested a genuine interest and respect for the intelligence of the participants.

Cherokee pottery—Ceramic training program

One of the successful training programs cosponsored by the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and the Cherokee Foundation, Inc. is the Cherokee Pottery—Ceramic Training Program. The Program Director and Instructor is a University of Georgia graduate and former owner-operator of a pottery-ceramic school and supply enterprise. He was employed by the Cherokee Nation last fall to initiate a training program on a trial basis. The success of this venture has resulted in authorized expansion from the pilot project to other Cherokee communities in eastern Oklahoma, based upon the schedule of activating two such communities per year.

Indicating some degree of the success realized in the pilot program was the production of marketable items produced within six weeks by every individual in the training program. Many of these Cherokees have displayed a high degree of skill on the potters' wheel, while others excel in decorating, pictorial work, and sculpturing. The latent talent within this group has exceeded all expectations, and this is one answer to the chronic unemployment of this area.

Another vitally important factor here is the fact that these Cherokee craftsmen are able to remain in their own area and work. These workers are NOT paid for attending classes, and after training purchase their own materials. A self-help program, the group will borrow the necessary funds to obtain equipment from the Cherokee Foundation, Inc. to be repaid, interest-free, on a six-year basis. The owning and operating of a business enterpriise has resulted in an additional incentive of the workers, which is reflected in their enthusiasm for work. Two orders of pottery and ceramic items have been sold to date, with the money received immediately returned to the workers. This also has produced added incentive. Other market outlets have requested information concerning our merchandise although we have not as yet attempted to obtain orders. The only outlet to date has been the Cherokee Arts & Crafts Center at Tahlequah, an enterprise owned and operated by the Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Oklahoma.

Other Tribal members than the Cherokees have requested similar programs for their communities, realizing this is one approach that may in part alleviate unemployment problems. We are convinced of the ultimate success of this program and are completely confident in the capacity and responsibility of the Cherokee workers. The tremendous effect the activity is having upon individual self-respect is of course an intangible asset that cannot be measured. These workers are currently in transition between welfare recipients and self-supporting citizens.

Arts and crafts, Tahlequah Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Each project will be reported separately so as to assure an over-all view of areas served. We will start with the newest activity and work back to the older organizations.

Mulberry: This unit has 32 individuals signed up for craft work in three categories, 1—basket markers, 2—potters, 3—weavers, and 4—a sewing class. This group is trainees, but they have been able to sell some of their training products to the Cherokee Craft Center. They have received nearly $500 since they began training in November. The Mulberry Craft workers are now in a position to charter their organization so they may manage their business.

Maryetta: There are 13 active members in the Maryetta Indian Arts and Crafts Association and the main activity is hand weaving. Some of the weavers have become sufficiently skilled to work with drapery and scarf material. Presently, the workers are making draperies for their shop. A basket making project is starting in this area this week. This group has made over a hundred dollars for its community.

Peavine: The Craft workers at Peavine have become specialists in making bead medalions, pins, ties, earrings. They recently helped fill an order of place mats for Phillips Service Station at the Cherokee Industrial Site. They are presently experimenting with various reeds in their mats. They sold $417.45 worth of gross business last year.

Jay: The Oak Hill Weavers are an old group of six members. They did $4,107.45 of gross business last year.

Briggs: The Sequoyah Weavers are also an old group with a membership of 10 weavers and they did a gross business of $6,806.79.

Next to the monetary rewards we believe the good feeling that these people get from knowing they can make something that others want has a terrific bearing on attitude about themselves.

Cash earnings to crafts workers. Made possible through the Bureau of Indian Affairs Arts and Crafts Training Program.

Sequoyah weavers (Cherokees): Jan. 1, 1967–Oct. 15. 1967	$6, 806. 79
Oak Hill weavers (Cherokees): Jan. 1, 1967–Oct. 15, 1967	4, 107. 45
Peavine crafts (Cherokees): July 1, 1967–Oct. 15, 1967	[1] 417. 75

[1] New enterprise.

Individuals not joining any organization but have received training from Bureau instructors:

Basketweavers, canemakers, beadworkers, dollmakers, and other small craftworkers	$2, 546. 40

Workers who have received training through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, arts and crafts program.

Now employed full-time at the Cherokee Arts and Crafts Center: Aug. 1, 1967–Oct. 15, 1967	$4, 845. 00

Total $18,723.39 returned to the communities through the sale of their arts and crafts. An amount they would not have otherwise.

Legal aid

Through an Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) Community Action Project in Delaware County, legal assistance is available to the citizens in general, and of course Delaware County being predominantly Indian population, many Indians have been given legal aid which they otherwise would not have received. This legal assistance extends into Adair County and the Indians in that county benefit in the same manner. This is a program the Executive Committee and the Principal Chief would like to see extended into all counties where such services are so badly needed both for the Indian population and the non-Indians.

Research, publication, and preservation of history of the Cherokee Nation

The Cherokee Tribe has employed two persons to compile, correlate, and index all records throughout this country. One employee works at the Oklahoma Historical Society and the other has traveled throughout the country visiting libraries and other institutions where records pertaining to Cherokee history and culture repose. The work of these two employees will soon be completed.

Cherokee Cultural Center

The Cherokee Cultural Center located near historic Park Hill, site of the Old Cherokee Female Seminary, will serve as an economic development project, as well as an outstanding cultural program. This Center is sponsored by The Cherokee National Historical Society, Inc., in cooperation with the Cherokee Tribe, the State of Oklahoma, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and many individuals. It consists of four parts:

The Cherokee Indian Village—TSA–LA–GI, of the period 1700–1750, was dedicated on June 24, 1967. Reports on attendance as of August 2 indicates visitors from 50 States, Washington, D.C., Puerto Rico, and from 20 foreign countries.

Cherokee Drama will be presented in an Outdoor Amphitheater during the summer season. This drama will tell the story of the Cherokee in Indian Territory and Oklahoma. Dr. Kermit Hunter, playwright, who wrote UNTO THESE HILLS to write our drama, and the late Dr. Jack Kilpatrick, whose untimely death we mourn, had been employed to write the music. Dr. Kilpatrick was a great composer of Indian music. His wife, Mrs. Anna Kilpatrick, did the research on costumes and the customs for the Village. Mrs. Kilpatrick, a full blood Cherokee, is a teacher, author and scholar.

Cherokee Museum will attempt to show through original artifacts, sketches, photographs, literature and the like, the development of the Cherokee from his earliest beginnings up to and including the present.

Cherokee National Archives is conceived and designed as a memorial. The Archives will become a mecca for students, researchers and interested readers.

Provided we can obtain proper matching funds, the Economic Development Administration has granted $487,200 for application to the first two phases of the Cherokee Cultural Center project. . . . the Village and the Amphitheater.

Development of 40-acre Cherokee industrial tract near Tahlequah

The Cherokee Tribe of Oklahoma continues to actively plan expanded industrial development programs on the Cherokee Industrial Site near Tahlequah.

The 40-acre site was returned to the Cherokee Tribe by the United States through the provisions of Public Law 88–461 (78 Stat. 55). This tract was a part of the Sequoyah Indian School and formerly used as part of the school farm. The farm was no longer in operation and the 40 acres was in excess to the needs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Tribal facilities, financed with Cherokee funds, approximately $500,000, and constructed by Cherokee Indians consist of:

A Restaurant of the Cherokees to accommodate approximately 200 persons. This restaurant is owned and operated by the Cherokee Tribe, employs fourteen (14) Cherokees and serves as a training program for young Cherokees.

Oklahoma Cherokee Indian Arts-Crafts Center has a display and sales area as well as facilities for manufacturing artifacts by Cherokees. Under tribal management—profits from wholesale and retail goes to tribal funds.

A Service Station. (Covered earlier in report)

Parking area to serve approximately 200 vehicles.

Landscaping to attract visitors.

The development of this industrial site represents a major contribution by the Cherokees to the economy of the area.

Plans are being studied for the construction of a first-class motel.

Plan of operation

A Plan of Operation for the Cherokee Tribe was adopted on June 21, 1967, by the Executive Committee jointly with the Principal Chief which will enable the Tribe to receive and budget funds.

Employment of general manager

A General Manager (Ralph F. Keen) with offices at 442 South Muskogee, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, was employed by the Tribe effective July 1, 1967. The General Manager will manage Cherokee tribal programs designed to promote the social and economic condition of the Cherokees.

Employment of Cherokee tribal field specialist

A full blood Cherokee (Crosslin Smith) was employed as Cherokee Tribal Field Specialist on July 14, 1967. His principal function is to visit all homes throughout the Cherokee Indian communities for the purpose of finalizing plans for conducting meetings to be held whereby facts about tribal expenditures of tribal funds and programming can be disseminated to the Cherokee people. A further aim is to have each Cherokee community appoint a community spokesman who will be the contact person with whom to deal in Cherokee tribal programming and tribal affairs.

Cherokee Community Organization

The Principal Chief, W. W. Keeler, and Executive Committee, since 1948, have wanted to employ a Cherokee who could mediate between the Field Traditional Cherokees and the Tribal Officials, educational people, Bureau of Indian Affairs and the local, state, and National or Federal service groups. Mr. Crosslin Smith, the Tribal Field Specialist, is qualified by birth, training and experience for his assignment. He is the son of Stoke Smith of Vian, Oklahoma, a traditional Chief of the Old Order Keetoowah Organization and was born in the Cherokee area. He speaks the Cherokee language and understands the history and culture of the Cherokees and the barriers created by the language handicap. He has done graduate work in the field of guidance at Northeastern State College in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, at Weber University in Ogden, Utah, and at Utah University in Logan, Utah. He has served in various positions in guidance and counseling work in the States of Utah and Arizona and New Mexico.

To date, thirty-five (35) communities have been visited by the Tribal Field Specialist. There have been eleven (11) community representatives elected and eleven (11) assistant community representatives elected. Some of these communities include up to five communities banded together to form a larger community.

Facts concerning the number of people employed in the Tribal Organization and the amount of money paid out to various projects in the Tribal Organization and employees from the Tribal funds, are reported to the community people.

After a community elects a representative, and in order to hold the community people together as an organization, these people are encouraged and assisted to work together to start a project that will benefit their children as well as adults by having something to do.

The Principal Chief supports the Cherokees in their wishes to have an election whereby the Cherokees would have an elected Chief. The people in the communities are informed that the main long-range objective of the community organization is for the Cherokees to reorganize and work together toward one common goal through representation from approximately one hundred communities within the Cherokee Nation. So far the communities which have been organized, have generated enough interest to start projects as follows:

Greasey, Rock Fence, Chuculate, South Bunch, and Kentucky Communities have decided to build a base ball park. It is highly hoped that out of this project will come the Little League Base Ball. The community people are raising funds through various activities such as community bingo games, pie suppers, community dinners, etc. The Cherokee Foundation, Inc., has indicated that they would be willing to match dollar for dollar on the amount of money the community people can raise. Also, the State Parks Department has indicated a willingness to consider their Recreational Funds that are available on a 50-50 matching basis with the non-profit groups such as the community organization from South Greasey and their non-profit project.

Hulbert and Spring Valley Community Organization with their elected groups have decided to build a community building. One chicken dinner has been held whereby $270 was cleared. $1700 is the amount of money needed to purchase materials to be used in constructing a community building. Here again, The Cherokee Foundation, Inc., has indicated willingness to meet half of the expenses for the Hulbert Community Building and their efforts to build a community building.

The Ballue Community, south of Locust Grove, is now engaged in efforts to retain their community school building, (which school will be consolidated this spring), as their community building for meetings, and also as a workshop building for whatever project they might want to carry out.

Kentucky Community is also engaged in an effort to retain their Indian Day School building, which school will also be consolidated in the near future. These community buildings will greatly enhance and improve opportunities for bringing about unity with the rural area Cherokees.

Maryetta Community has been holding various fund raising activities to purchase materials for an addition to their Arts and Crafts Building.

The Bull Hollow Community and its leaders have been also involved in various fund raising activities. The project is to have pottery and ceramics classes. There is a possibility of receiving funds from the Manpower Development Division, as well as funds from The Cherokee Foundation, Inc., for this program.

The Vian Community has scheduled wood cutting projects for the disabled and elderly people who otherwise are unable to cut wood for themselves.

Employment coordinator

A full blood Cherokee, native of Delaware County, has just recently been employed to work directly out of the Cherokee Tribal Office in Tahlequah. This employee, Johnson O'Field, will be particularly interested in improving employee-management relations involving Cherokees. His immediate schedule includes working with all Federal, State and local agencies concerned with Cherokee employment and general welfare. This employee speaks the Cherokee language.

Public relations and communications

Most often opposition and criticism come from lack of information or misinformation. Through the General Manager and the Cherokee Tribal Field Specialist we believe public relations and communications can be greatly improved. A Cherokee Nation Newsletter is regularly issued. It is hoped eventually that this Newsletter may be directed to all Cherokees whose names and addresses appear upon the Cherokee Per Capita records from which a mailing list of all Cherokees sharing in the Cherokee Judgment Funds is compiled.

Legislation

Proposed legislation covering 2668 acres of lands located near the Chilocco Indian School to be acquired by the Cherokee Tribe is pending. If enacted, income from these lands will be used for Cherokees.

This report is respectfully submitted for your information concerning Cherokee Tribal programs and we trust it will be helpful to the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education.

Sincerely,

W. W. Keeler,
Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Oklahoma.

Upward Bound Project,
Southwestern State College,
Weatherford, Okla.

Senator Kennedy: The attached letter was written by Henry Shawnee, a 17 year old Arapaho Indian from southwestern Oklahoma. Henry has been in jail at least 13 times. He has been in a training school for stealing, glue sniffing, etc. He hasn't seen his father for 10 years. His mother is a prostitute and alcoholic. He has seven brothers and sisters.

Henry lives in my home and will graduate from high school in May. Unless he had moved to a different environment he was doomed to be a kept citizen.

There are many more youngsters with similar environments in southwestern Oklahoma from the Plains tribes. They are much worse off than the civilized tribes.

Project Upward Bound and the other programs are helping tremendously but the need isn't being fulfilled.

Thanks for your interest in Indians and Oklahoma.

J. R. Cook,
Assistant Director.

P.S. Henry's letter was written to help establish a youth ranch for high school boys and girls in Oklahoma.

Weatherford, Okla., *February 14, 1968.*

Just to give you a little of my background. I was born in Lawton, Oklahoma, lived in Canton, Geary and am now living in Weatherford. I have lived in this part of the state for most all of my life. The environments that I lived in weren't always the best, but they were always the same. There are a lot of young people my age, who live in a similar environment. It seems that they need a different place to live. They need to get away from all the drinking problems, not enough food, from the old crowd, burglarizing, a new place would be the answer. They never have really got a good look at life as it heally should be. They need something that can bring out all the talent that they have in themselves.

When I first heard of the Upward Bound Program at Weatherford, I thought it was the ideal thing for me. I heard of it in the city jail in Geary of all places. It was for only two months during the summer. I went there for those two months, and later after I had got home, I found that everything would just be the same routine every day. The desire died in me in what I felt for a better way of life. If I hadn't have gone to the Upward Bound Program I probably would have given up everything in trying to get a good education. I now know the value of education as it should be. If I had got a closer look in life, I would have tried to make the best of my earlier life. But nobody ever gave me a chance. Now it seems almost too late. But there are ways to do something that your own self hadn't even thought of trying to accomplish. If I had been introduced to education face to face there's no telling what I could have done to really improve myself. There would have been a whole new environment a better outlook for myself in the future. Right now I'm far ahead in my thinking.

If this ranch were to be built others like me in my environment would be encouraged to their fullest extent. It wouldn't be for anly two short months. It would always be there to really help young people.

Henry Shawnee.

Muskogee, Okla., *February 23, 1968.*

Senator Robert Kennedy,
Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Kennedy: In the senate sub-committee hearing at Oaks, Oklahoma, February 19, 1968, you indicated that if individuals who had not testified wished to add their remarks to the testimony of the hearing, they could do so by writing their remarks and sending them to you. My intention is for the following remarks to come before the committee as testimony. By way of background on my qualifications to speak to these points, I received a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Clinical Psychology with a minor in Special Education from the University of Oklahoma. I have worked as a consultant with Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools for several years, on numerous occasions having served as an in-service training specialist, particularly for dormitory personnel. During the fiscal year 1966–67 I served as a public health consultant for Jones Academy, an Indian boarding dormitory near Hartshorne, Oklahoma. During the fiscal year 1967–68 I have been serving as a consultant to Seneca Indian School and Sequoyah High School in Wyandotte and Tahlequah, Oklahoma respectively. For eleven years I served as coordinator for the Region II Guidance Center, a part of the Oklahoma State Department of Health, and in that capacity worked with numerous schools, many of which were of the one and two room variety. In some of the schools which I served, the population was heavily Indian. My work in the past has included other activities in which I have served as a consultant to boarding school situations and related institutional programs.

From my vantage point I feel that I can offer testimony that will be of help to the sub-committee in carrying out its work, not only for the particular schools that I serve, but hopefully, for Indian educational programs throughout the country.

The first problem to which I would like to speak relates to dormitory settings only. In each of the dormitory facilities with which I am familiar, the adult to child staff ratio at any given time ranges from a "best" of 1 to 35 or 40 to a "worst" of 1 to 100 or more. The dormitory life for these students corresponds to the home life of students in a public school setting. The students who make up boarding school settings, at least in the Oklahoma area, are generally placed there on social criteria. This means that the students, for the most part, have been unable to adequately adjust to a normal living and schooling situation and have been placed in boarding school, because of this maladjustment. The students come from a situation where supervision, if available, is available at the very least in a ratio of one adult to 14 or 15 children, and go into a situation where it is one adult for 35 or 40 children. Older students can tolerate this low adult student ratio much more effectively than the younger children. Thus, the problem is not as critical at boarding schools such as Sequoyah, which houses high school students, as it would be at a boarding school such as Seneca, which houses elementary school children.

Having served as a consultant to the staff of both Sequoyah and Seneca schools, I am directly familiar with many of the problems that confront the staff when faced with the job before them. Please imagine a situation in which one person is asked to be responsible for forty awake children between the ages of 6 and 10 years, all of whom arrive with several strikes against them, which strikes are the very reason they are there in the first place. These children must get dressed in the morning, brush their teeth, be fed, be gotten ready for school, have their sores treated and all their ailments looked at. This is done between 6:30 and 8:00 in the morning. Upon return from school in the evening, these children must be looked after, cared for, fed, recreated, counseled, listened to, bathed, gotten ready for bed, and settled down, all by one individual. Imagine now, what happens if as many as two of those forty children become simultaneously upset, but over different matters. Does the instructional aide who is in charge of the dormitory leave the flock to tend the few? If she does, which of the few does she tend when all of them so badly need her? Keep in mind that the same instructional aide who does all of the above is responsible for ordering clothing, supplies, keeping the dormitories clean, mending broken toys, and seeing to it that each child has at least the necessary requirements as far as clothing and care are concerned.

Although, I was critical before I became directly involved with this program, I now have little but admiration for the job that the instructional aides and the dormitory personnel actually perform in spite of the great odds against them. I do not intend for my statement to condone the behavior of all dormitory personnel under all circumstances. Obviously, there are abuses of adult privilege and authority at times. There are times when the red tape of the institutional setting impairs the efficiency of operation and the justice that is executed throughout the program just as with the courts and any other large organization. It is my purpose in these remarks, to illustrate the tremendous "home" problem of the children, for whom the institution is a home, have. It is my impression that the adults who influence the lives of the children during the greater part of each day, the instructional aides and the dormitory personnel need a great deal of help in order to effectively prepare the children for the academic part of their education.

It is my impression that the influence of the dormitory personnel is a major and substantial part of the education of children in boarding schools. It is through dormitory life that they learn such things as courtesy, manners, independence of thought, initiative, social responsibility, and the give and take of everyday life. My recommendation to the committee is that they consider methods for doubling or even tripling the number of staff available for dormitory operation so that the ratio of adults to children can be reduced from the present low ratio to a minimum ratio of 1 adult for 15 students. Regardless of the intention of the superintendent and staff of the local boarding school, and regardless of the intention and desires of the area offices and even of the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a national entity, such changes cannot effectively be brought about without significant changes in the funding patterns which are ultimately controlled by Congress.

In my consultations with the various schools, I have also worked with the academic program as well as having served as an in-service training and staff consultant for the dormitory program. The problems of the academic parts of the program are somewhat different. The children are, by and large, educationally retarded when they arrive at the Indian school. Many of them have language handicaps which are not necessarily related to a native Indian tongue being spoken in the home. The language handicap in many cases is simply limited versatility with the English language on the part of those in the home, even when the parents and other family members speak English as their only language. Thus the children share problems of general educational, cultural, intellectual, and economic deprivation with other groups.

There are, of course, special problems which relate to the fact that they are Indians, and many of these problems are language-relevant. For example, among certain tribes of Indians there exists a long standing custom of "groupness" and sharing, which customs have their roots in the past days of hunting for a living and starvation if one did not find food. Under these older circumstances, it became necessary within the community of Indians for them to share what they had. Thus, even now when a Cherokee of traditional training kills a cow or a pig, he shares it with his friends and neighbors until it is gone or until they want no more. Viewed through the competitive eyes of the white man, Indians following this custom are squanderers, irresponsible, and foolhardy. Viewed through the traditional Cherokee's eyes, this man is generous and considerate and upholding the everyday common decency expected of him as a proper, upstanding Cherokee citizen. For him to do otherwise would be selfish and base.

When these customs are a part of the home situation of a child, they do not need to be taught or verbalized. Customs such as the above are adopted, quite naturally, by the children, and built into the fabric of their personalities to the extent that related behavior is automatic and non-verbalized. When children brought up under these customs attend school, they find it difficult to effectively compete with their neighboring children, and also find it difficult to abide by the white man's customs of tight ownership, borrowing rules, and individual ownership of property versus sharing. Thus it is often difficult for the teacher to understand what is taking place in the behavior of Indian children. Unfortunately, the problem is not as simple as it sounds. Superficially, the problem could be resolved by having more Indian teachers. Unfortunately, many Indians do not learn the traditional Indian customs of their tribe, and the customs vary from one tribe to another. The fact that a person has one-fourth or more Cherokee descent does not guarantee that he knows the customs or traditions of the tribe. In boarding schools such as are found in Oklahoma there is a great mixture of tribes, and each tribe has its own set of customs. The solution to this problem seems to lie in training programs, consultation programs, and continued education programs for teachers and staff so that they may better understand the Indian child. These programs are needed in both the public and the boarding schools, an need to be taught in those institutions of higher learning which are the primary training schools for Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers.

Congressional funding of consultation programs for staff development is needed. Since the children in the Oklahoma boarding schools are placed there largely on the basis of social criteria, i.e., the personal, social, and emotional disturbances in their backgrounds, the staff of these institutions needs to be especially well equipped for handling children with such problems. Obviously it is impractical to make psychologists out of each teacher. The logical plan seems to be to make funding available for the hiring of psychological consultants for purposes of in-service training and staff development and ongoing consultants regarding problems of dealing with and managing social, personal, emotional, and educational problems.

I hope the above information will be of help to the committee in its deliberation.

Sincerely,

Dean V. Harris, Ph. D.,
Licensed Clinical Psychologist.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Thank you for your fine testimony. The hearing will be in recess.

(Whereupon, the subcommittee recessed, subject to call of the Chair.)

O